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# THE HOUSE OF THE LORD

## ASPECTS OF THE ROLE OF PALACE TRICLINIA IN THE ARCHITECTURE OF LATE ANTIQUITY AND THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

IRVING LAVIN

### I

#### THE TRICONCH AND THE SIGMA

EARLY in the fourteenth century in Tuscany was written a long allegorical poem entitled *L'Intelligenza*, author unknown. Since its discovery over a century ago, it has assumed a position of some importance in the history of allegorical and didactic verse after Dante.<sup>1</sup> The poet sings of his love for a beautiful woman who appears to him as an angelic vision, in the bloom of spring. Dressed in silks of Cathay, with a mantle from Alexandria trimmed in white ermine, she wears a crown laden with a veritable *lapidarium* of precious and magical jewels.<sup>2</sup> She lives in a splendid palace in the orient, built by divine Love "in the Indian manner" (*a la guis' indiana*). Most of the poem's 309 stanzas in *nona rima* are devoted to a description of this incredible edifice, with its fabulous furnishings and decorations in mosaic. Finally, toward the very end, the grand edifying allegorical significance of the poem is revealed (*Madonna* = *L'Intelligenza*; the palace = *l'anima col corpo*, i.e., Man).

As a whole, the work is perhaps most notable for the variety of late mediaeval conceits and themes from chivalresque poetry of which it is concocted.<sup>3</sup> The description of the palace in particular has not the slightest reference to contemporary architecture, but fairly drips with the rhetoric of pure literary convention. And indeed the elements of the building are based upon a tradition that can be followed with some precision at least to the Carolingian period.<sup>4</sup>

With appropriate elaborations and additions, the parts of the palace are essentially those of the following list given in the famous *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Ordericus Vitalis (1075 - ca. 1143):<sup>5</sup>

- |                            |                                     |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>proaulium</i>        | 7. <i>epicaustorium</i>             |
| 2. <i>salutatorium</i>     | 8. <i>thermas</i>                   |
| 3. <i>consistorium</i>     | 9. <i>gymnasia</i>                  |
| 4. <i>tritorium</i>        | 10. <i>coquinam</i>                 |
| 5. <i>zetas hiemales</i>   | 11. <i>colymbos</i>                 |
| 6. <i>zetas aestivales</i> | 12. <i>hippodromum</i> <sup>6</sup> |

1. The poem, formerly attributed to Dino Compagni, was first published in full by A. F. Ozanam, *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire littéraire de l'Italie*, Paris, 1850, pp. 321ff., cf. pp. 138ff., and often thereafter; cf. N. Sapegno, *Il Trecento*, Milan, 1942, pp. 120ff., n. 22, p. 137, for discussion and bibliography. It was introduced to art-historical literature by J. von Schlosser, "Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte aus den Schriftquellen des frühen Mittelalters," *Sitzungsberichte der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Vienna, Phil.-hist. Klasse, vol. 123, 1890, pp. 41ff., see p. 44; *idem*, *Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1896, pp. 342ff.

2. On the *lapidarium*, cf. G. Cenzatti, *Sulle fonti dell' "Intelligenza"*, Vicenza, 1906, pp. 9ff.

3. *Ibid.*

4. What follows is a brief summary of an extremely complicated situation, as regards both the historical evidence itself and the scholarly bibliography that has grown up around it. Three studies are essential: Schlosser, "Beiträge . . ."; P. Clemen, "Der karolingische Kaiserpalast zu Ingelheim," *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, IX, 1890, pp. 111ff.; C. Huelsen, "Die angebliche mittelalterliche Beschreibung des Palatins," *Römische Mitteilungen*, XVII, 1902, pp. 255ff. These investigations were, it seems, carried out independently; each makes fundamental contributions while overlooking material included in the others. To my knowledge no comprehensive study has been made.

5. Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. 188, col. 160.

6. In a number of versions (see below) *hypodromum* (=latrine) is used instead of *hippodromum*; *L'Intelligenza*

The list occurs in Ordericus' account of the life of the Apostle Thomas, who is supposed to have journeyed to India, where he was called upon to build such a palace for the ruler Gundaphorus. Ordericus' source was thus almost certainly the apocryphal Acts of St. Thomas, an extremely popular legend throughout the Middle Ages, as the many surviving versions—Greek, Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian, Latin—testify.<sup>7</sup> Yet the eastern redactions of the Acts, while they tell the story of the palace, do not give a description of it. The actual parts of the building, corresponding almost exactly to those of *L'Intelligenza* and Ordericus, appear only in the Latin versions.<sup>8</sup>

Perhaps the Latin *Passio S. Thomae* is a translation from a Greek or Syriac original that contained the description.<sup>9</sup> It seems far more likely, however, that the description is a purely Latin interpolation,<sup>10</sup> the translator having appropriated an originally independent palace description, several versions of which are actually preserved.<sup>11</sup> There is no way of determining exactly when this might have taken place.<sup>12</sup> The only certain evidence is that the earliest manuscript of the *Passio* containing the description dates from the Carolingian period,<sup>13</sup> as does the earliest manuscript of the independent description itself.<sup>14</sup>

As regards the textual evidence, this is as far as even conjecture can take us. The most we can say is that sometime between the first century at the earliest,<sup>15</sup> and the end of the eighth century at the latest, the foundations were laid for one of the most remarkable traditions of mediaeval architectural fantasy. Loaded with exotic and regal associations, the tradition culminated in the fourteenth century, when it epitomized for the author of *L'Intelligenza* the architectural setting of a magnificent, far away, and completely imaginary world.

In seeking the origin of this literary tradition, it was natural for the early editors of the mediaeval texts to suppose that they reflected an actual building, either extant or known to have existed from other sources. In the light of later research, however, all these suggestions proved groundless.<sup>16</sup> The possibility of course remains that some structure as yet undiscovered was the model. But it is more probable that the original description amalgamated elements of perhaps quite disparate origin into a kind of ideal formula.<sup>17</sup>

follows the former reading. This and other differences suggest that one of the related texts rather than Ordericus may have been the actual source.

7. For a summary, cf. M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Oxford, 1955, p. 364, with a translation from the Greek (ed. M. Bonnet, *Acta Thomae* [Supplementum codicis apocryphi, I] Leipzig, 1883).

8. *Ibid.*, p. 140, ll. 8-13; cf. F. Oelmann, "Zur Kenntnis der karolingischen und omajjadenischen Spätantike," *Röm. Mitt.*, 38-39, 1923-24, p. 242.

9. Such is the view of U. Monneret de Villard, *Les Couvents près de Sohâg*, Milan, 1925, I, p. 53. The Latin *Passio* as a whole is certainly based on a Syriac or, more probably, a Greek source (James, *loc.cit.*). But if the original contained the description, we are indeed confronted with a strange "historical conspiracy," since no versions other than the Latin have preserved it. Furthermore, the researches of Huelsen and Clemen have demonstrated the existence in various glosses and other texts of a rich tradition involving the same description, again exclusively Latin, having nothing to do with the *Passio*.

10. Schlosser, "Beiträge . . .," p. 49; Huelsen, *op.cit.*, pp. 264ff.

11. List of mss. *ibid.*, p. 257.

12. Huelsen postulates the existence of an original *glossarium de domiciliis* which, mainly on the analogy of the Horace and Juvenal scholia, he dates in the fifth or sixth century (p. 267). Schlosser also suggested a sixth century date ("Beiträge . . .," p. 51).

The Latin *Passio* seems to be referred to in a passage in Gregory of Tours (d. 593, cf. Bonnet, *op.cit.*, p. xviii); but

there is no reason to assume that the work mentioned by Gregory included the description, if indeed the latter was then in existence.

13. Schol. med. Montepess. 55, 8th-9th cent., *ibid.*, p. xxii. In point of fact the Montpellier manuscript is fragmentary, beginning only after the passage concerning the palace.

14. Rome, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, ms. 651, 9th cent., first published by G. Schepss, "Beschreibung eines alten Palastes," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, IX, 1884, p. 177; X, 1885, p. 378; cf. Clemen, *op.cit.*, p. 112 and n. 220; Schlosser, "Beiträge . . .," p. 42; Huelsen, *op.cit.*, p. 257, no. 1.

15. Since many of the terms of the description do not occur in Vitruvius, or any classical author; cf. Schlosser, "Beiträge . . .," p. 51; C. Promis, "Vocaboli latini di architettura posteriori a Vitruvio oppure a lui sconosciuti," *R. Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Memorie*, Ser. 2, Scienze morali storiche e filologiche, vol. 28, 1876, pp. 207ff.

16. The description has been variously derived from the palace of the Longobard dukes of Spoleto (because of a confusion of the manuscripts), the Carolingian palace at Farfa (because one of the manuscripts came from the monastery at Farfa), the Flavian palace on the Palatine (a misinterpretation of the texts), the Lateran palace (merely because it possessed a triconch, as did many other buildings as we shall see); for summaries of the earlier identifications, cf. Schlosser, "Beiträge . . .," pp. 41ff. and 51; Huelsen, *op.cit.*, pp. 255ff. and 268. Schlosser himself used the Hellenistic palace at Palatitsa to reconstruct the described building, and Clemen, *loc.cit.*, applied the description to the palace at Ingelheim.

17. Huelsen, *op.cit.*, followed by L. Traube, *Vorlesungen*

One of the difficulties in relating the description to real buildings is that for the most part the names refer to functions rather than shapes. The *proaulium* is a vestibule, but the word gives no idea of its appearance. The same is true of *consistorium*, a meeting place. On the other hand, *tricorium*, while it does not suggest a purpose, does imply a specific architectural form, namely a room with three apses.<sup>18</sup> And purely as a result of this linguistic "accident," the triconch has acquired quite unusual significance in the historiography of late antique and early mediaeval architecture.

It happens that among the palaces built in the wastelands of Syria by the Omayyad Califs, one, the famous palace at Mschatta, included as the royal reception chamber a room with three apses—the *tricorium* of the Latin palace descriptions (Fig. 13). There could be no serious question of a direct connection between the descriptions and the palace at Mschatta. There must have been a common source, and for this Josef Strzygowski, who first considered the relationship, had a ready suggestion—the Temple of Solomon at Jerusalem, which he believed represented an oriental building tradition from which much of western mediaeval architecture ultimately derived.<sup>19</sup> Thus the triconch became involved in that great perennial problem of the history of early mediaeval art, *Orient oder Rom*.

Strzygowski's hypothesis today seems rather naïve, not to say tendentious, especially considering that there is not a particle of evidence to show that the Temple of Solomon actually had a triconch.<sup>20</sup> Yet, the foundation upon which his theory rested remains firm; the triconch enables us to say that the Latin palace description and the palace at Mschatta, hence also the traditions they represent, are somehow related.

Since Strzygowski's day, and the period when the literary tradition was first being disentangled, a great deal of new material has become available bearing upon this problem,<sup>21</sup> and a good deal of material known then has been neglected, perhaps because it is relatively obscure and difficult of access.<sup>22</sup> The purpose of the first section of this study is to exploit this additional evidence in an effort to define the role of the triconch in late antique and early mediaeval domestic architecture.<sup>23</sup> It should be said at the outset that many important questions will remain unanswered. In particular, we have seen that the triconch occupies a privileged position, and we cannot assume that its history is typical of other architectural features either in the literary sources or in the actual monuments to be discussed.

It is a curious and perhaps significant fact that although the word *tricorium* (*tricorum*, *trichorum*) is derived from Greek (*τρίχωρος*), it is used as an architectural term only in Latin.<sup>24</sup> Even

und Abhandlungen, II, Munich, 1911, pp. 74f.; F. Schneider, *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter*, Munich, 1926, pp. 171f.; P. E. Schramm, "Studien zu frühmittelalterlichen Aufzeichnungen über Staat und Verfassung," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germ. Abt.*, 49, 1929, p. 177 n. 1.

18. A certain ambiguity is even possible here since the word might conceivably be applied to any arrangement of three apses in close proximity. Furthermore, it can be shown (see below, p. 15) that during the later Middle Ages the word could be used to refer to a function, rather than to a specific form. But on the whole, and especially for the early period, the familiar type with three apses at right angles, documented by references to known buildings (as at Nola, cf. R. C. Goldschmidt, *Paulinus' Churches at Nola*, Amsterdam, 1940, pp. 38, 125 and 127) should probably be assumed unless there is evidence to the contrary.

19. J. Strzygowski, "Mschatta. II," *Jahrb. d.k. preuss. Kunstmgn.*, 25, 1904, pp. 232ff.

20. Cf. Oelmann, *op.cit.*, p. 242.

21. Of the many discussions, perhaps the most useful are: K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford, 1932,

I, pp. 382ff. (though much essential evidence is omitted); F. W. Deichmann in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Stuttgart, 1950ff., II, cols. 944ff., s.v. "Cella trichora," which includes besides an excellent summary, a list of 98 examples in all categories.

22. Some of the evidence overlooked by Strzygowski has already been cited in refutation of his views by G. Tilemann, *Der römische Kaiserpalast in Trier und seine Rekonstruktion*, Göttingen, 1908, pp. 1 and 10ff., A. Blanchet, "Les origines antiques du plan tréflé," *Bulletin monumental*, 73, 1909, pp. 450ff., and Oelmann, *op.cit.*, pp. 241ff.

23. Most studies obscure the distinction between religious, funereal, and residential triconches; examples in Roman baths are often included as well. While there may be points of contact, these categories actually present quite different problems and should be investigated separately before their relationships can be accurately defined. Except for some remarks concerning the early use of the form in Christian martyria (see below, n. 170), we shall deal almost exclusively with the triconch in domestic architecture.

24. Cf. H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, Paris, 1831ff., vol. VII, col. 2487.

the Greek equivalent, *τρίκογχος*, is known only from the Byzantine period,<sup>25</sup> whereas Statius (ca. A.D. 40-96) already uses the Latin word in describing the villa of Manilius Vopiscus at Tivoli.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, the poetical context makes the passage in Statius difficult to interpret precisely,<sup>27</sup> but we can be certain that the architectural term was in use by the end of the first century A.D. A second instance is even more instructive. In the *Historia Augusta* it is said that in the house in Rome of Pescennius Niger (anti-emperor to Septimius Severus in A.D. 193-194) there was to be seen a statue of the emperor standing in a *trichorum*.<sup>28</sup>

These texts suggest several important conclusions. The tri-apsidal form existed in Rome during the first two centuries after Christ, and in sufficient numbers to constitute an architectural type requiring a special name.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the type seems to have been preferred as an important feature of private dwellings, such as villas and town houses, of quite pretentious character.<sup>30</sup> The triconch was a mark of wealth and status. In fact, as the passage concerning the statue of Pescennius Niger suggests, it may even have been acquiring some association with the imperial cult.

In general, however, the motif must have remained relatively rare during the early empire, even in elaborate dwellings. Not a single example, so far as I know, occurs at Pompeii. The imperial associations too must have remained fairly limited, since no true triconches appear in the known imperial palaces of this period.<sup>31</sup>

During the later empire, on the other hand, and presumably as a reflection of the noble residences of Rome, the triconch was thoroughly assimilated in the domestic architecture of the western provinces. This process of transplantation or "provincialization" must have been a typical phase in the evolution of Roman art, and it was certainly of great importance for the subsequent history of the triconch. Two villas with triconches have been found in Gaul, two in Spain, and no less than seven in Africa Proconsularis (roughly modern Tunisia), where the motif seems most readily to have found a home (Figs. 18-26).<sup>32</sup> Although few of these buildings can be dated accurately, a variety of evidence indicates that they range from the late third through the

25. *Ibid.*, col. 2437.

26. *Silvae*, I, 3, 58:

quid nunc iungentia mirer aut quid partitis  
distantia tecta trichoris?

27. Certainly erroneous is the interpretation as three stories (Statius, ed., J. H. Mozley, Loeb Classical Library, I, p. 42, note b); cf. Goldschmidt, *op.cit.*, p. 127.

28. *Hist. Aug. Pesc. Nig.*, 12, 4:

Domus eius hodie Romae visitur in campo Jovis, quae  
appellatur Pescenniana, in qua simulacrum eius in  
trichoro consistit, positum ex Thebaico  
marmore, quod ille ad similitudinem sui factum  
a grege (or rege) Thebaeorum acceperat.

An inscription from Rome of the reign of Trajan (not Nerva) has entered the literature on the subject (e.g., F. Ebert in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-encyclopädie der class. Altertumswiss.* [hereinafter *RE*], Stuttgart, 1864ff., Ser. 2, vol. VII A 1, col. 91, s.v. "Trichorum") under false pretenses; a fragmentary word was misread by early lexicographers as *trichorum* (cf. *Corpus Insc. Lat.*, 6, 542).

29. It is also probably safe to say that Roman architects were the first to develop the type on a grand scale; its origins, however, involve several complex problems, including that of Roman vaulting. Cf. R. von Meringer, "Mittelländischer Palast, Apsidenhaus und Megaron," *Sitzungsb. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Vienna, *Phil.-hist. Kl.*, vol. 181, 1916, no. 5; *Reallex. f. Ant. u. Chr.*, 11, col. 947.

30. Manilius Vopiscus was a wealthy and cultured member of the senatorial class (cf. *RE*, XIV, cols. 1143f.).

31. The great triclinium of the villa of Hadrian at Tivoli has sometimes been cited in this connection, but the trefoil ground plan is rather misleading. The central rectangle was actually a completely self-contained basilica, on three sides

of which were open semi-circular gardens surrounded by porticoes (cf. H. Kähler, *Hadrian und seine Villa bei Tivoli*, Berlin, 1950, pp. 55ff., pls. 8 and 10, according to whom the lateral hemicycles were part of a second phase). There was a similar arrangement in what was probably the model of the Tivoli structure, the triclinium of the Flavian palace on the Palatine; here a basilica with an apse at one end is flanked on two sides by open nymphaea with porticoes (J. Bühlmann, "Der Palast der Flavii auf dem Palatin in Rom," *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Architektur*, I, 1907-1908, pp. 113ff.). Thus, structurally as well as spatially these buildings are quite different from the unified triconch.

The central room in the ground floor of the northwest wing of the so-called "Domus Augustana," the residential quarter of Domitian's palace on the Palatine, has also been considered a triconch; but while the lateral arms are apsidal, the middle arm is flat, with a semi-circular niche (cf. the familiar plan published by Guattani in the eighteenth century, e.g., in A. Bartoli, "Scavi del Palatino . . .," *Notizie degli scavi*, 6th ser., v, 1929, fig. 3, p. 12; see also G. T. Rivoira, *Architettura romana*, Milan, 1921, figs. 121 and 123, pp. 135 and 136). Here too the essential unity of the triconch motif is absent; in fact the plan with one exedra flat may constitute a separate type (see below, n. 75).

Even granted that the *trichora* mentioned in the early texts may not have been of the type familiar later, these imperial triclinia can at best be regarded as transitional forms.

32. The provincial villas with triconches are discussed in the Appendix. After the manuscript was completed still another western example came to my attention, in a villa at Desenzano sul Garda, mentioned by L. Crema, *L'Architettura romana* (Enciclopedia classica; sect. III, vol. XII, tome 1), Turin, 1959, p. 608.

early fifth century. And since the latest are found among those in North Africa, the Vandal conquest of that territory in 429-430 provides a fixed upper *terminus* for the whole series.

The implications of these facts seem plain enough. If one includes the two references to early triconches in Rome, we have mentioned thirteen examples preceding the second quarter of the fifth century. We shall shortly add one more also that can be dated well before the same chronological limit. This brings the total to at least fourteen, whereas to the best of my knowledge not a single triconch appears among the numerous palaces and villas in the eastern end of the Mediterranean during this entire period; the earliest member of the Syrian group that includes the palace at Mschatta dates from the late fifth century. In the face of such statistics there can be little doubt that priority for the development of the tradition should be assigned to the Latin west. The real problem becomes to discover how this western tradition, largely a provincial one at that, to judge from the available evidence, might have made itself felt in the palaces of Syria.

We have not yet considered the purpose for which the domestic triconches were actually used—a question, indeed, that often cannot be answered unequivocally.<sup>33</sup> The presumption is that for the most part they were triclinia, dining rooms for special occasions; and we shall see that they never entirely lost this connotation. The triclinium, at first rather small and simple, early became the most important room in the Roman dwelling,<sup>34</sup> so that, from the point of view of architectural history, the emergence of the triconch is part of a general development in which the triclinium is increasingly isolated, enlarged, and enriched.<sup>35</sup> By the late third-early fourth century a variety of solutions can be found, including arrangements with one or two apses,<sup>36</sup> full-fledged basilicas,<sup>37</sup> and central plans.<sup>38</sup> Thus, the triconch is one of several relatively complex types that replace the simple rectangle commonly used in the Hellenistic tradition.<sup>39</sup> But it is doubtful if these more elaborate structures should be thought of as dining rooms in the usual sense.

33. On the hazards of assigning specific names to individual rooms, cf. P. W. Lehmann, *Roman Wall Paintings from Boscoreale in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, p. 15 n. 39.

34. *RE*, VII A 1, cols. 97ff., s.v. "Triclinium."

35. Cf. I. Lavin, review (with C. Mango) of D. Talbot Rice, ed., *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors. Second Report*, Edinburgh, 1958, in *ART BULLETIN*, XLII, 1960, pp. 70ff.

In North Africa this phenomenon is strikingly illustrated by comparing the plan of the well-known villa at Oudna (P. Gauckler, "Le domaine des Laberii à Uthina," *Monuments Piot*, III, 1896, pp. 177ff., plans fig. 1, p. 185, pl. xx) initially constructed in the late second or early third century (with later repairs), with that of the villa at Portus Magnus (our Fig. 1; S. Gsell, *Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1901, II, pp. 19ff.), probably of the late third century (on the dating see below, n. 55). In the former the rooms are all contained within the rectangular block of the building as a whole; in the latter the main triclinium projects with great emphasis from the rear (cf. K. M. Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Paläste*, 2nd ed., Vienna, 1924, pp. 21 and 23f.).

36. Examples of triclinia with an apse at one end, while occurring earlier (Domus Aurea, Flavian palace on the Palatine in Rome, Casa dei Capitelli at Pompeii), proliferate from the third century and thereafter. Particularly instructive are instances in which apsidal arrangements were added to preexistent buildings. This also happens earlier (e.g. a villa at Balácsa, Hungary, J. Wollanka, "Ein römisches Mosaik aus Balácsa," *Jahreshefte des österr. arch. Instituts*, XXV, 1929, pp. 1ff., cf. p. 6; Swoboda, *op.cit.*, fig. 14, p. 25), but is particularly common in the early fourth century (cf. the villa at Parndorf recently excavated, *Fasti Archaeologici*, 6, 1951, no. 6046, fig. 181, p. 468, and those at Chiragan, Cadeilhan-Saint-Clar, and Lullingstone cited below, n. 201,

the latter two among an interesting group in which the apse is more than a semicircle; also at Ostia, in the "Domus della Fortuna annonaria," G. Becatti, "Case ostiensi del tardo impero," *Bollettino d'arte*, 33, 1948, fig. 23, p. 122).

Two opposed apses are depicted in a mosaic from Carthage; cf. *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique*, Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Paris, 1909ff., II, Tunisia, P. Gauckler (hereinafter *Inv. Tun.*), no. 806, p. 270, ill. On apsidal triclinia generally, D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947, p. 128; on the tradition in palace architecture see now Swoboda, "The Problem of the Iconography of Late Antique and Early Mediaeval Palaces," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 20, 1961, pp. 78ff.

37. The provincial examples occasionally show unusual design features that may follow Roman precedent (or is it *vice versa*?). At Djemila in Algeria a long basilica, which might be the reception room-triclinium of a private or official residence, has three apses along either side and a single apse at one end (cf. Y. Allais, *Djemila*, Paris, 1938, p. 57, adjoining no. 7 on the plan); the plan strongly recalls that of Santa Balbina in Rome (which may have been a pagan building originally, R. Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum christianarum Romae*, I, Rome, 1937, pp. 91f.) and even more the church of Santi Quaranta at Saranda (E. Dyggve, "Die altchristlichen Kultbauten an der Westküste der Balkanhalbinsel," *Atti del IV Congresso int. di archeologia cristiana*, Vatican, 1938, I, Rome, 1940, p. 405, fig. 19 D). A villa at Cherchel in Algeria, probably of the fourth century, had a three-aisle vaulted basilica with apses at the end of each aisle (V. Waile, "Nouveau rapport sur les fouilles de Cherchel," *Revue africaine*, 48, 1904, pp. 56ff., pl. VIII).

38. For centralized types, and their relationships to Christian architecture see below, section II.

39. As we shall see, this whole development is also reflected in the eastern Mediterranean at a later period.

From the functional and ideological point of view one can only surmise that the evolution in design was accompanied, perhaps even motivated, by a general shift in the "style of living." It seems to imply a change in the character and significance of the social activities that took place in the villa. And in some instances at least the emphasis may have been specifically religious in nature.<sup>40</sup> For example, the large triclinium that dominates the plan of a villa at Portus Magnus in Algeria (Fig. 1, see n. 35) had an elaborate mosaic pavement with scenes related to the cult of the Theban Cabiri (Fig. 2).<sup>41</sup> To be sure, it is notoriously difficult to determine the precise religious content of mythological representations in private dwellings. But here it is hard to believe that such a complete program could have been conceived apart from the underlying ritual, even though the arrangement of the pavement (in the familiar T composition that allows for the placement of couches) shows that the room was intended primarily for dining.<sup>42</sup> Analogously, in the case of a trifolium in a villa at Dougga, Tunisia (Fig. 22), the proximity of what is thought to have been the kitchen is again an indication of the essential purpose of the room.<sup>43</sup> Yet it contained, it seems, an "omphalos" that would presumably have belonged to a statue of the Delphic Apollo.<sup>44</sup> Whether secular or religious, or both, the requirements of social intercourse and ceremony must have been of special importance in the development of the "emphasized" triclinium.

From the sociological point of view it may be that provincialization also involved a certain degree of vulgarization, but it would be easy to overestimate this aspect of the development. The owners of these great provincial villas were enormously wealthy, often aristocratic.<sup>45</sup> And the triconch remained a particularly lavish and expensive feature of domestic architecture. In the case of a villa at Carthage where the motif appears, there is even some evidence that the owner may have been an imperial official (Fig. 18).<sup>46</sup> The pavement of the triconch contained the representation of a tholos covered with a cupola and flanked on either side by colonnaded porticoes (Fig. 4). The excavator pointed out the similarity between this and the traditional form of the imperial throne-tabernacle, and suggested that the building may have been the residence of the provincial governor.<sup>47</sup> It is perhaps significant that no kitchen facilities were found,<sup>48</sup> so that the triconch may here have served primarily as a ceremonial reception hall. And if the pavement contained an imperial emblem, might not the design of the room itself, recalling its use in the palace of Pescennius Niger, have had an imperial connection?

This at least would be the simplest explanation for the appearance of the triconch motif in what is at once perhaps the most important and problematic building of late antiquity that has come to light in recent years, the so-called "Imperial Villa" at Piazza Armerina in central Sicily (Fig. 5).<sup>49</sup> The building aroused discussion from the moment of its discovery, by virtue of its spectacular decoration of mosaic pavements, and in the matter of determining its function and

40. Religious elements had of course long been an important factor in Roman triclinia, but we may note at least one instance at Pompeii: a triclinium with a vestibule that actually contained a permanent altar (VIII. v-vi. 16, cited by A. Mau, *Pompeii. Its Life and Art*, New York, 1907, p. 264, fig. 124).

41. See the classic analysis by C. Robert, "Das Mosaik von Portus Magnus," *Jahrb. d. deut. arch. Inst.*, v, 1890, pp. 215ff.

42. On the compositional type, Levi, *op.cit.*, p. 15; for the whole floor at Portus Magnus cf. besides Robert, *loc.cit.*, C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, III, Paris, 1904, fig. 5250, p. 2114.

43. C. Poinssot, *Les Ruines de Dougga*, Tunis, 1958, p. 55; see below, Appendix, p. 26.

44. A. Schulten, *Archäologischer Anzeiger, Jahrb. d. deut. arch. Inst.*, 26, 1911, col. 249; C. Poinssot does not mention the "omphalos" (*loc.cit.*).

45. M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of*

*the Roman Empire*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1957, pp. 330ff. On the provincial nobility, A. Stein, *Der römische Ritterstand*, Munich, 1927, pp. 363ff.

46. G.-Ch. Picard, "Une Schola de Collège à Carthage," *Karthago*, III, 1951-52, pp. 167ff.; see below, Appendix, p. 26.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 183ff.; cf. p. 191, citing a letter from W. Seston, who notes the analogy of the trifolium with the palaces at Ravenna and Constantinople, to be discussed below.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 181.

49. The basic references are: G. V. Gentili, *La villa imperiale di Piazza Armerina*, Rome, 1954 (*Itinerari dei musei e monumenti d'Italia*, no. 87) with earlier bibliography, p. 9 n. 1; B. Pace, *I mosaici di Piazza Armerina*, Rome, 1955; Gentili, *La Villa Erculia di Piazza Armerina, I mosaici figurati*, Milan, 1959 (hereinafter, *I mosaici figurati*).

owner. Only extraordinary circumstances could account for such grandeur and magnificence (nearly fifty rooms, more than 3500 square meters of floor mosaics) in such a remote location.

The hypothesis that seems most promising, and has been accepted by the excavator, is that the building was erected by the emperor Maximianus Herculus as the retreat, or *otium*, to which he would retire upon his abdication from the throne, which he shared with Diocletian, in 305.<sup>50</sup> It would thus represent the counterpart of the famous palace of retirement built by Diocletian himself at Spalato. The evidence is too complex for presentation here; suffice it to say that there is mounting archaeological evidence for a date in the period of Maximianus,<sup>51</sup> and that while the attribution to him certainly cannot be taken as proved, it helps to explain many of the building's remarkable features. Not the least of these is an iconographic peculiarity in the mosaics of the triconch. The great central square is filled with an elaborate representation of the Labors of Hercules, in the preserved part of which only the defeated victims are shown.<sup>52</sup> Hercules appears in a scene of his "Glorification" in the north apse (Fig. 3), but he seems to have been omitted in the central square. One cannot but imagine that the emperor himself, who drew his ancestry from Hercules, was to be thought of in the role of the victorious hero.<sup>53</sup>

If we accept the attribution of the building to Maximianus Herculus, as I think we must at least as a working hypothesis, then Piazza Armerina would make very explicit the association in palace architecture of the triconch with the imperial cult. But in that case, consideration of the design and decoration of the building leads to a remarkable paradox. The extraordinary plan, with its loose, organic relationships among and within the major groups of rooms, may represent a kind of planning that, having originated in Rome, was transferred to the provinces in the course of the third century.<sup>54</sup> However, each group at Piazza Armerina retains a dominant central axis, along which the individual elements succeed one another. And if we compare the main ensemble at Piazza Armerina (Fig. 5, nos. 3, 15, 26, 30) with the late third century villa at Portus Magnus mentioned earlier (Fig. 1)—vestibule; peristyle flanked by living quarters; portico opposite the entrance extended as a long corridor; triclinium (isolated, on axis, projecting)—the immediate ancestry of the former becomes evident.<sup>55</sup>

The mosaic pavements at Piazza Armerina are of interest in this connection. By and large, they

50. First proposed by H. P. L'Orange, "É un palazzo di Massimiano Ercoleo che gli scavi di Piazza Armerina portano alla luce?" *Symbolae Osloenses*, XXIX, 1952, pp. 114ff.; cf. Gentili, *La villa . . .*, p. 9 and *passim*, and *idem*, "Le gare del circo nel mosaico di Piazza Armerina," *Bollettino d'arte*, 42, 1957, p. 26 n. 1.

Automatic abdication by himself and his coregent was, it will be remembered, part of Diocletian's plan for regularizing the succession. Maximianus is in fact known to have built such an *otium*, though the sources are not clear as to its location. A new identification of the ancient site has recently been proposed by L. Villari, *L'antichissima città di Ibla Erea nei ritrovamenti della villa romana di Piazza Armerina*, Grottaferrata, 1960.

51. See now the important indications of finds above and below the mosaics cited by Gentili, *I mosaici figurati*, p. 74 (though it should be pointed out that strictly speaking the sealed coin of Maximianus provides only a *terminus post quem*; on the hazards of dating mosaics by coins and pottery, cf. Levi, *op.cit.*, pp. 5f.).

Other numismatic evidence yielding a date early in the fourth century has recently been offered by A. H. M. Jones, "The Origin and Early History of the *Follis*," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 49, 1959, pp. 34ff.

52. Gentili, *La Villa . . .*, p. 53; see the drawing of the whole given in Gentili, *I mosaici figurati*, fig. 12.

53. A colossal head, identified as Hercules by L'Orange ("Il palazzo di Massimiano Ercoleo di Piazza Armerina," *Studi in onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni*, III,

Milan, 1956, pp. 593ff.) was also found in the villa, probably from a statue to be placed in the niche of the apse of the great basilica. W. Seston observes (*Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1952-1953, p. 152) that the Latin Panegyric of 289 specifically links Hercules to the palace of Maximianus (ed. E. Galletier, *Panegyriques Latins*, I, Paris, 1949, p. 24).

54. J. B. Ward Perkins, "The Italian Element in Late Roman and Early Medieval Architecture," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 33, 1947, pp. 163ff.; cf. Ward Perkins and J. M. C. Toynbee, "The Hunting Baths at Lepcis Magna," *Archaeologia*, vol. 93, 1949, p. 192. This aspect of the plan of Piazza Armerina has recently been analysed by N. Neuberburg, "Some Considerations on the Architecture of the Imperial Villa at Piazza Armerina," *Marsyas*, 8, 1959, pp. 22ff.

55. According to the most recent scholarship Portus Magnus was in a section of Mauretania that Diocletian (284-305) abandoned to the barbarians at the very beginning of his reign. This would provide a *terminus ante quem* just before Piazza Armerina. On the withdrawal cf. J. Carcopino, *Le Maroc antique*, Paris, 1943, pp. 233ff.; B. H. Warmington, *The North African Provinces from Diocletian to the Vandal Conquest*, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 70f.; C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique*, Paris, 1955, pp. 88ff.; J. Lassus, "Le site de Saint-Leu, 'Portus Magnus' (Oran)," *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Comptes rendus*, 1956, pp. 292f.; P. Romanelli, *Storia delle provincie romane dell'Africa*, Rome, 1959, pp. 507ff.



fall into two groups: genre scenes, particularly scenes of the hunt, in a broad "painterly" style, and mythological subjects, equally colorful, but with voluminous "Pergamene" figures.<sup>56</sup> The former group has from the beginning been recognized as directly related to a rich and peculiarly North African tradition in which such genre scenes for the decoration of private villas had a long history (compare Figs. 6 and 7).<sup>57</sup> Yet, the mythological group too finds its closest parallels in North Africa, and particularly in the triclinium pavement of the same villa at Portus Magnus whose ground plan is so pertinent (Figs. 2 and 3).<sup>58</sup>

Everything seems to indicate that Piazza Armerina is the creation of a school, or schools, of artisans from North Africa. To be sure, study of the mosaics had already pointed in this direction.<sup>59</sup> And even before the discovery of Piazza Armerina, Sicilian mosaic decoration as a whole had been regarded as basically an offshoot from the south.<sup>60</sup> Thus, for a Sicilian villa to have its roots in North Africa is quite natural and in itself of little significance. But in this case the fact has important implications for the future, because the proprietor of Piazza Armerina may have been the emperor himself. If in the third century the triconch had become a trade-mark of the provincial landed aristocracy, it seems now to have been taken up again on the highest imperial level.

Once firmly established on this level the future of the motif was assured. It appears again in a building excavated at Ravenna, almost as grandiose as the villa at Piazza Armerina (Fig. 8).<sup>61</sup> Again there is no conclusive evidence for the identity of the building's owner, though it has often been regarded as the palace of Theodoric the Great (d. 526). It is located just east of the church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo (originally dedicated to the Savior), built by Theodoric as the Arian cathedral. And a palace of Theodoric is believed to have existed in precisely this area, i.e. between the church and the city wall.<sup>62</sup> On the other hand, the excavation revealed several strata, from as early as the early Empire; the connections between the strata are quite complex, making it difficult to establish even a relative chronology.<sup>63</sup> What does seem clear is that the basic elements, including the large peristyle, the apsidal basilica toward the center of one portico, and the triconch at the side, were in existence in the building's next-to-last phase and formed part of a unified plan.<sup>64</sup> This plan bears pronounced similarities to that at Piazza Armerina.<sup>65</sup> The triconch has been shifted to the main peristyle where it shares honors with the great basilica as the second

56. Gentili, *La Villa* . . . , pp. 14ff.; Pace, *op.cit.*, pp. 93ff.

57. Fig. 7 is a mosaic from Hippo in Algeria, one among many examples that could be cited; in this case there is some archaeological evidence, which is supported by stylistic considerations, for a date in the latter part of the third century (*Inventaire des mosaïques*, III, Algérie, F. G. de Pachtere, no. 45, pp. 12ff., ill., hereinafter *Inv. Alg.*; *idem*, "Les nouvelles fouilles d'Hippone," *École française de Rome, Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XXXI, 1911, pp. 321ff.; subsequent excavations in this villa are described by E. Marec, "Trois mosaïques d'Hippone à sujets marin," *Libya, Arch.-Ép.*, VI, 1958, pp. 99ff.).

On the North African tradition of pavement decoration, cf. G. Brett, ed., *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, London, 1947, pp. 93ff.; Lavin, *ART BULLETIN*, 1960, pp. 72ff.; it will be treated at greater length by the writer in a study scheduled for publication in volume 17 of the *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.

58. *Inv. Alg.*, no. 454, pp. 110ff., ill.; cf. also G.-Ch. Picard, "La datation des mosaïques de la Maison du Virgile à Sousse," *Atti del settimo Congresso internazionale di archeologia classica*, III, Rome, 1961, p. 246.

59. Pace, *op.cit.*, pp. 106f.

60. *Ibid.*, and refs. n. 31, p. 109.

61. G. Ghirardini, "Gli scavi del Palazzo di Teodorico a Ravenna," *R. Accademia dei Lincei, Monumenti antichi*, XXIV, 1918, cols. 737ff. The greatest over-all dimension at Piazza Armerina is of the order of 130 meters; at Ravenna, in so far as it was excavated, 90 meters.

62. A. Zirardini, *Degli antichi edifizii profani di Ravenna*, Faenza, 1762, pp. 100ff.

63. Cf. Levi, *op.cit.*, p. 461 n. 235. However, the confusion in the building, though abysmal, is not quite so complete as Levi makes out (see the next footnote). Nor is the writer quite as convinced as Levi that the mosaic pavements belonging to the building phase outlined below must be radically earlier than the period of Theodoric (arguments presented in the study alluded to above, n. 57).

For a recent discussion of the problem of the Ravenna building, cf. N. Duval, "Que savons-nous du palais de Théodoric à Ravenne?" *École fr. de Rome, Mélanges*, LXXII, 1960, pp. 368ff.

64. Porticoes A', A'', A''', had mosaics on from two to five levels, of which the last in each case is probably later than the pavement in the triconch; stylistically the figural mosaic in the triconch seems contemporary with the next-to-last level (which also had figural compositions) in porticoes A' and A''. The basilica had three levels; the uppermost was unfortunately lost, but since it covered a pavement in *opus sectile*, probably of the early Empire, the room must have been in existence before the next-to-last level in the peristyle, the mosaics of which certainly date from a later period (at which time, perhaps, the basilica was enlarged to its final shape). Cf. Ghirardini, *op.cit.*, cols. 749ff., 771ff., on the porticoes; 775ff., on the basilica; 782ff., on the triconch.

65. Cf. also Duval, *loc.cit.*, Swoboda, *Jour. Soc. Arch. Hist.*, 1961, p. 86.

of the palace's two chief rooms. But the analogy runs even deeper. For at Ravenna the peristyle had mosaic pavements with various genre scenes, including circus and amphitheater games, and elaborate hunts (Fig. 9).<sup>66</sup> The building thus documents the existence of this formal and iconographical tradition<sup>67</sup> at a place which, particularly after Honorius removed the imperial court to Ravenna in A.D. 404, ceased to be merely provincial.

The palaces at Piazza Armerina and Ravenna indicate that at least from the early fourth century the triconch regained its elevated social status if indeed it had actually lost it. And the next major phase in the development took place in the capital of the eastern Empire. Before examining the Byzantine contribution to our problem, however, we must consider another architectural motif that shows a parallel development to the triconch, and in a number of significant instances enters into a close partnership with it. We have observed that the triconch may be regarded as one of several forms adopted for the triclinium in the tendency to emphasize that element of the traditional villa plan. At Piazza Armerina this tendency has led to the creation of an independent unit, including both a peristyle flanked by smaller rooms and the triconch (Fig. 5, nos. 41-46). Here, moreover, the peristyle functions primarily as a kind of forecourt, introducing a degree of orientation and augmenting the concentration upon the triconch. This effect arises largely from the virtual elimination of two sides of the peristyle, while the lateral porticoes are bowed outward.

In all likelihood the curved peristyle at Piazza Armerina is an adaptation of the semicircular porticoes that had appeared frequently in Roman domestic architecture;<sup>68</sup> and occasionally, in a manner recalling its use at Piazza Armerina, as the forecourt to the triclinium (Fig. 10).<sup>69</sup> The simpler form actually occurs at Piazza Armerina in the entrance court and in a subsidiary group of buildings opening off the main portico, next to the great basilica (Fig. 5, nos. 2 and 31). The curved portico thus also constitutes a distinct architectural type, and, though known only from later sources, it too had a special name, *sigma*, from its similarity to the capital Greek letter, which was written as the Latin capital C.<sup>70</sup>

The appearance of the triconch and the sigma at Piazza Armerina as a single unit is a fact of some importance in the history of mediaeval architecture, since the same remarkable combination was in the ninth century to form a major element in the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors

66. If the Ravenna palace was actually Theodoric's the two buildings may be connected in another, quite unexpected way. We noted (above, n. 53) that there was a literary link between Hercules and the dwelling of Maximianus, a link perhaps reflected in the Hercules iconography of the pavement in the triconch at Piazza Armerina. E. Dyggve now points out ("Basilica Herculis," *Festschrift W. Sas-Zaloziecky*, Graz, 1956, pp. 34ff.) that the *Basilica Herculis* which Theodoric built at Ravenna (Cassiodorus, *Var.*, I, 6), usually thought of as a civil basilica, may on the analogy of Piazza Armerina have been part of his palace. The context in Cassiodorus implies that the building was intended to rival earlier ones. Cf. further K. Wessel, "San Vitale in Ravenna ein Bau Theoderichs des Grossen?" *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 22, 1959, pp. 212ff.

67. Cf. the analogous arrangement, a hunting scene in the portico preceding the triconch, in the *Maison du Char de Vénus* at Thuburbo Majus in Tunisia, discussed below (Appendix, p. 26, Fig. 25).

68. Among domestic examples, cf. the villas represented in Pompeian paintings and North African mosaic pavements (Swoboda, *Röm. u. rom. Paläste*, pls. 1ff.). A curved portico preceded the Domus Augustana (S. B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London, 1929, p. 162, cf. G. Lugli, *Roma antica*, Rome, 1946, p. 509, plan opp. p. 448), and a similar arrangement in the form of a vast semicircle was part of the early fourth century reconstruction of the villa at Montmaurin mentioned below, n.

201.

69. Villa at Teting on the Moselle, dated near the end of the third century by A. Grenier, *Habitations Gauloises et villas latines dans la cité des Médiomatrices*, Paris, 1906, pp. 159ff., esp. pp. 171f.

70. Cf. C. Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Lyons, 1688, II, col. 1365. The term seems first to have designated semicircular dining tables and bathtubs (cf. *RE*, II A 2, cols. 2323f.); see also an interestingly ambiguous post-Constantinian inscription from a synagogue at Side in Asia Minor (J. B. Frey, *Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum*, Vatican, II, 1952, no. 781, pp. 38f., L. Robert, "Inscriptions grecques de Sidé en Pamphylie," *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*, XXII, 1958, pp. 38f., 39nn. 1 and 2). A parallel case is that of the term *gamma* applied to forms suggesting the Greek capital letter Γ (e.g., a covered bazaar at Damascus so named in an inscription recording its construction in A.D. 339-340; C. Watzinger and K. Wultzinger, *Damaskus, die antike Stadt*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1921, no. 5, pp. 30f., plan fig. 26, p. 27). Neuerburg, *op.cit.*, p. 23 n. 8, in connection with the entrance court and court no. 31 at Piazza Armerina, makes reference to the D-shaped portico mentioned by Pliny the Younger, *Letters*, II, 17, 4. The term *porticus absidata* (Platner and Ashby, *op.cit.*, pp. 419f.) probably also applies to the semicircular design (A. M. Schneider, *Arch. Anz.*, 1943, col. 260 n. 1, see below n. 140).

at Constantinople (see below).<sup>71</sup> But in fact both types had long since been introduced separately in the eastern capital. A triconch was certainly in existence near Constantine's Capitol by A.D. 447.<sup>72</sup> A portico shaped like a sigma served as the approach to a port built by Julian the Apostate (361-363) for the protection of ships approaching from the north.<sup>73</sup> And no less than three actually preserved buildings in the city, two of them palaces, securely datable in the first half of the fifth century, have sigma porticoes as entrances to large central halls (Fig. 17; see below pp. 18ff.).

It seems clear that the first century and a half after the foundation of the city by Constantine was the crucial period in the transferral of these forms from the Latin west, to which they appear to have been exclusively confined theretofore, to the new capital.<sup>74</sup> And it can hardly be coincidental that the second half of the fifth century witnessed the emergence in Syria of a tradition to which, as Strzygowski himself recognized, the palace at Mschatta certainly belongs.<sup>75</sup> The earliest document in this Syrian group is an intriguing inscription from Bosra, the ancient capital of Provincia Arabia, which records the erection there of a "triconch sigma" (τρίκονχον σίγμα) in A.D. 488.<sup>76</sup> The tenor of the inscription makes it seem probable that the building was a public monument of some sort rather than a private palace, and the specific architectural meaning of the phrase τρίκονχον σίγμα is subject to question. But the combination of these two forms, and the use of these technical terms, are clear links to the developments we have been following. Slightly later, and also at Bosra, a palace with a triapsidal tricladium is actually preserved (Fig. 11).<sup>77</sup> From its close proximity to the cathedral it has generally been identified as the episcopal palace; and in fact it is very probably contemporary with the cathedral, which is dated A.D. 512. A triconch is also present in a famous pre-Islamic palace at Kasr ibn Wardan, which is surely dated to the year A.D. 564 (Fig. 12).<sup>78</sup> Here, the triconch dominates the plan and the peristyle serves mainly as its forecourt. This arrangement clearly anticipates that of the palace at Mschatta (Fig. 13), though the scale and proportions are quite different. And finally we reach Mschatta

71. The combination also occurs in religious architecture, as in the Damos-el-Karita basilica at Carthage (J. Vaultrin, *Les basiliques chrétiennes de Carthage*, Algiers, 1933, pp. 34ff.); cf. also the structure adjoining the basilica of Parenzo (B. Molajoli, *La basilica eufasiana di Parenzo*, Padua, 1943, pp. 60f.), and the curious arrangement in the church at El-Flousiyeh in Egypt (J. Clédât, "Fouilles à Khirbet el-Flousiyeh," *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, XVI, 1916, pp. 27ff., pl. III).

72. A solemn procession to appease the Lord's wrath was held in the triconch following an earthquake in A.D. 447 (*Chronicon Paschale*, Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, vol. 92, cols. 805/808; cf. R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, Paris, 1950, p. 400); evidently it was a public building.

73. Zosimus, III, 11, ed. Bonn, pp. 139f.; cf. Janin, *op.cit.*, pp. 389f.

74. The same is true of the "emphasized" tricladium generally. Regarding the central plan see the discussion of the "Octagonos" in Constantine's Daphne palace, below Section II. For the later eastern examples of the single apsed hall cf. ART BULLETIN, 1960, p. 71.

75. It is difficult to determine the pertinence of a palace at Bosra, which H. C. Butler dates in the second century A.D. (*Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria* [hereinafter *P.U.A.E.S.*], Leyden, 1907ff., Div. II, Sect. A, pp. 259f.). The second story has a cruciform room in which the middle arm is flat, while those flanking are apsidal; unfortunately the plan of the lower story could not be established. Though perhaps related, this kind of arrangement, as we have noted, lacks the unity of the true triconch and may represent a distinct type; besides Bosra, examples occur in the Domus Augustana (above, n. 31), in a villa at Montcaret (below, n. 201) and, possibly, in a house

at Hippo in Algeria (E. Marec, *Monuments chrétiens d'Hippone*, Paris, 1958, O/P-18/19 on plan at rear).

Similarly, the semicircular apse with three niches in a building at Kanawât also ascribed to the second century by Butler (*Architecture and Other Arts*, New York, 1903, pp. 357ff., fig. 126, p. 358) is a quite different form than the triconch; here, moreover, the absence of subsidiary structures makes it doubtful whether the building can be considered as part of a palace (so Wessel, *op.cit.*, p. 216 n. 70). Butler called it "temple-like"; H. W. Beyer regarded it very probably a cult building (*Der syrische Kirchenbau*, Berlin, 1925, p. 123).

76. The inscription was placed in medallions on two columns reused in the mosque at Bosra:

Ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ.  
ἐπὶ Φλ(αυίου) Ἀρκαδίου Ἀλεξάνδρου  
τοῦ λ(α)μπροτάτου σχο(λαστικοῦ) καὶ  
ἡγεμόνος ἐκτίσθη ἐκ θεμελίων  
τὸ τρίκονχον σίγμα καὶ ἐπληρώθη  
ἐν ἔτει τπγ' χρόν(οις) Ἰνδικ(τιώνος)  
ἐνδεκάτης.

In (the) name of Christ, the Savior.  
Under Flavius Arcadius Alexander, most  
distinguished scholasticus and governor,  
the semicircular portico with three  
niches was erected from the foundations,  
and completed in (the) year 383, in (the)  
time of (the) eleventh indiction. (March-  
Sept., A.D. 488.)

*P.U.A.E.S.*, Div. III, Sect. A, nos. 560-561, pp. 248ff.; *Corp. Insc. Gr.*, 4, 8623.

77. *P.U.A.E.S.*, Div. II, Sect. A, pp. 286ff.

78. *Ibid.*, Div. II, Sect. B, pp. 34ff.

itself, which Strzygowski placed in the fourth-fifth century or even earlier. Recent Islamic scholarship regards it almost universally as Omayyad, probably of the early eighth century.<sup>79</sup>

The triconch at Mschatta thus emerges as an epigone of a local Syrian tradition that had developed as a kind of offshoot from the main channel of transmission.<sup>80</sup> This at least is what the chronological evidence suggests. But there are several other indications that help to localize the source of the Syrian group. The Omayyad Califs are known to have imported artists and materials from Byzantium.<sup>81</sup> The palace at Kasr ibn Wardan is built in a brick and stone technique that is almost unique in pre-Islamic Syria, but is indistinguishable from the architecture of Constantinople in the period of Justinian.<sup>82</sup> Butler regarded a Constantinopolitan origin as certain, and even suggested that the architect might have been the nephew of Isidorus of Miletus, who seems to have worked in this same part of Syria. The "triconch sigma" at Bosra was dedicated, according to the inscription, under the governorship of one Flavius Arcadius Alexander; he is otherwise unknown, but as governor of the province he was appointed directly by the emperor and certainly had close relations with the capital. Finally it should be mentioned that a palace with a triconch was recently excavated at Side in Pamphylia; from its location near a large basilica, ascribed to the fifth-sixth century, it too has been regarded as the episcopal palace.<sup>83</sup> Under the circumstances, it would be difficult to conceive a more likely source of inspiration than the imperial capital for a building with this motif at a site so near.

Having been adopted at Constantinople, therefore, our architectural tradition soon made itself felt in neighboring regions. Its noble, even imperial, associations were doubtless an important factor in this process, if indeed they were not the cause. And certainly the most spectacular fruit of this development was produced in the palace of the emperors at Constantinople itself.

In the eleventh year of his reign, according to tradition, the emperor Theophilus (829-842) built a triconch and a sigma in the Great Palace.<sup>84</sup> These were only part, though the most splendid, of the many additions made to the imperial residence by this remarkable ruler, who was a militant iconoclast but created a great renewal of Byzantine architecture through his extensive building activities.<sup>85</sup> The Triconchos and Sigma completely transformed the old palace and quickly became one of the most important ceremonial centers of the whole complex. The apses of the Triconchos, which had two stories, were oriented north, south, and east, while the entrance was at the west. Two columns framed three portals that gave access to the Sigma. The roof of the Triconchos was gilt, its walls painted with genre and animal scenes, recalling the mosaic pavements with analogous subjects that we have encountered repeatedly. The entrance had three portals, the lateral two

79. Cf. Creswell, *op.cit.*, pp. 390ff., with a summary of previous opinions. Certain older scholars still object to the Omayyad dating (for references, cf. O. Grabar, "Al-Mushatta, Baghdād, and Wāsiṭ" in J. Kritzeck and R. B. Winder, eds., *The World of Islam* [Studies in Honor of P. K. Hitti], London-New York, 1960, p. 99 n. 1).

80. The Mschatta triconch, unique among the known Omayyad palaces, is also found to be among the intrusions from Roman-Byzantine sources by O. Grabar, *Ceremonial and Art at the Umayyad Court*, Diss., unpub., Princeton, 1955, pp. 150ff., the most recent study of the problem from the point of view of Islamic art. Moreover, this conclusion is essentially in keeping with that of H. Stern ("Notes sur l'architecture des châteaux omeyyades," *Ars Islamica*, XI-XII, 1946, pp. 89ff.), who offers compelling evidence that the Mschatta throne-room is actually an assimilation of Sassanian (square domed chamber with flat niches) and "local" traditions (the apses); he regards it as a prime example of the "syncretism"—to borrow his apt description—of Omayyad art.

81. This has now definitely been established for the decorations of the mosques at Medina and Damascus by H. A. R.

Gibb, "Arab-Byzantine Relations under the Umayyad Caliphate," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 12, 1958, pp. 219ff.

82. *P.U.A.E.S.*, II, B, pp. 26ff.; Creswell, *op.cit.*, pp. 347ff.

83. S. Eyice, "La ville byzantine de Side en Pamphylie," *Actes du X. congrès int. d'études byz.*, Istanbul, 1955 (pub. 1957), pp. 130ff., pl. xvii, "G."

84. Described in Theophanes continuatus, III, 42; Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, vol. 109, cols. 153ff.; the year is mentioned in Symeon Magister, *Theoph.*, 21, *ibid.*, col. 701; cf. J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople et le Livre des Cérémonies*, Paris, 1910, pp. 110ff.

It should be noted, however, that the Pseudo-Codinus attributes the Sigma to Constantine the Great (ed. T. Preger, *Scriptores Originum Constantinopolitanarum*, II, Leipzig, 1907, p. 145), and some have assumed that Theophilus only restored these buildings (e.g., A. G. Paspates, *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, London, 1893, p. 210).

85. On Theophilus' buildings cf. J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I*, London, 1912, pp. 129ff., A. Grabar, *L'Iconoclisme byzantin*, Paris, 1957, pp. 169ff.

of bronze, the central one of silver. These gave access to the semicircular Sigma, which also had two stories, the upper with fifteen columns, the lower with nineteen.

The magnificent buildings of Theophilus bring to a climax the eastern, Byzantine phase of our tradition. And since the procedure for receptions that took place in the Triconchos and Sigma are described in the *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, for once we are able to conjure up some image of the way in which the structure was used.<sup>86</sup> From the beginning we have found traces of ceremonial implications. Here they are elaborately developed, and the Great Palace provides our richest example of the interplay between imperial ritual and architecture.<sup>87</sup>

The triconch thus appears as a kind of test case in the evolution of mediaeval "associative" architecture. We have seen that, largely as a result of its associations, a Roman architectural tradition was transferred to Byzantium, there to play a role that has no real parallel in the west. For whereas in the east we have been able to follow the triconch from at least the early fourth century, in the west after the palace at Ravenna, I know of not a single example before precisely this period, i.e. the period of Charlemagne. Then, however, there took place in Europe a great florescence of the triconch in palace architecture.

Pope Leo III (795-816) undertook an ambitious building program, which included several additions to the Lateran palace.<sup>88</sup> Foremost among these was a vast triclinium, "greater than any other"; it had three apses, one of which was decorated with mosaics, the others with paintings of diverse subjects, while the walls were covered with marble incrustation.<sup>89</sup> The plan of the building given by Alemanni (Fig. 16) shows it to have had the familiar arrangement of the "royal" triconch.<sup>90</sup> The fact that Leo adopted the motif bears witness to its implications as an architectural type. For certainly the outstanding aspect of Leo's reign was the association of the spiritual with the temporal power, formalized by his coronation of Charlemagne in 800. But that there was indeed a specific and conscious connection between the triclinium and these political notions is best appreciated from the mosaic decoration of the central apse. This is known from the famous

86. Bk. I, ch. 75 (66), ed. A. Vogt, vol. II, text, Paris, 1939, pp. 105ff. The procedure was roughly as follows. Having traversed the gallery of the Forty Saints the emperor enters the Triconchos, where he dons the chlamys and is crowned by the *praepositus* (first chamberlain). The dignitaries of the court arrange themselves on either side, the *spatharocubicularii* (imperial arms-bearers) and the *cubicularii* (chamberlains) take their places behind them on the steps of the apse. The *praepositus*, having received a sign from the emperor, signals the *ostiarius* (ceremonial steward) who introduces the patricians and *strategi* (provincial military commanders). When all those present are in their proper places, the emperor receives their salutations. This procedure took place at every imperial reception. The emperor and his entourage then pass through the silver portal to the Sigma. Here the cortege again arranges itself, and the emperor mounts the throne. He blesses the people three times and sits. The *praepositus* signals the people and the organs to be silent and the factions, first the Blues, then the Greens, intone their chants and acclamations. After more ceremonies the factions make the four petitions after each of which, having been signaled by the *praepositus*, the herald gives to the people a triple sign of assent. The emperor then returns to the Triconchos. Here he is relieved of the chlamys and the crown and then proceeds to the Chrysotriclinos where he dispenses promotions and gifts, amidst performances of the ballet and further acclamations.

87. As we have seen, the immediate inspiration for Theophilus' triconch probably existed in Constantinople itself. But the situation is complicated by the fact that by then the type had indeed become established farther east and, as Mschatta proves, had even been adopted by Islamic architects. Hence,

there is the possibility of an influence from this quarter; another of Theophilus' palaces, at Bryas, is reported to have been modeled after that at Bagdad (Theophanes continuatus, Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, vol. 109, col. 112; cf. Zonaras, *ibid.*, vol. 134, col. 1401, and the references in Janin, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 145f., 447f.; S. Eyice has tentatively identified the Bryas palace with the remains at Küçükyali, "Quatre édifices inédits ou mal connus," *Cahiers archéologiques*, 10, 1959, pp. 215ff., also *Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten*, 23, 1959, pp. 79ff., with summary in French). On the other hand, the overwhelming Islamic influence often assumed for the period of Theophilus, largely on the basis of these passages, may be exaggerated.

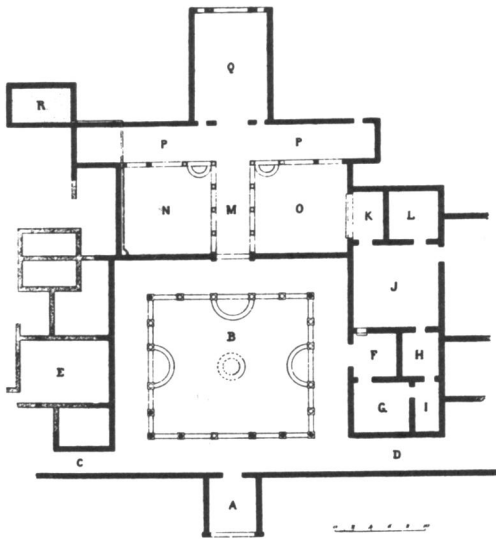
88. Leo's building activities are described at length in the *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. L. Duchesne, II, Paris, 1892, pp. 1ff.; cf. H. K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, London, 1925, II, pp. 101ff.).

89. *Liber Pontif.*, ed. cit., II, pp. 3f.:

Fecit autem et in patriarchio Lateranense triclinium maiorem super omnes triclineos nomini suo mire magnitudinis decoratum, ponens in eo fundamenta firmissima et in circuitu lamminis marmoreis ornavit, atque marmoribus in exemplis stravit et diversis columnis tam purfreticis quamque albis et sculptis cum basibus et liliis simul postibus decoravit. Et camera cum absida de musibo seu alias II absidas diversas storias pingens super marmorum constructione pariter in circuitu decoravit.

On the triclinium cf. P. Lauer, *Le Palais de Latran*, Paris, 1911, pp. 105ff.

90. N. Alemanni, *De lateranensibus parietinis*, Rome, 1625, pl. 1; cf. also the sketch by Pompeo Ugonio, Lauer, *op. cit.*, fig. 40, p. 104.



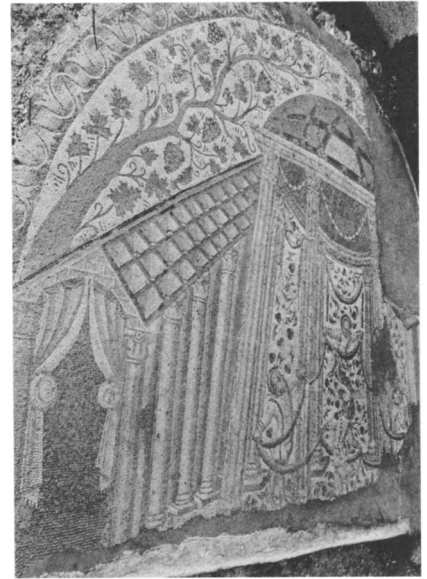
1. Portus Magnus, Roman Villa (From Gsell)



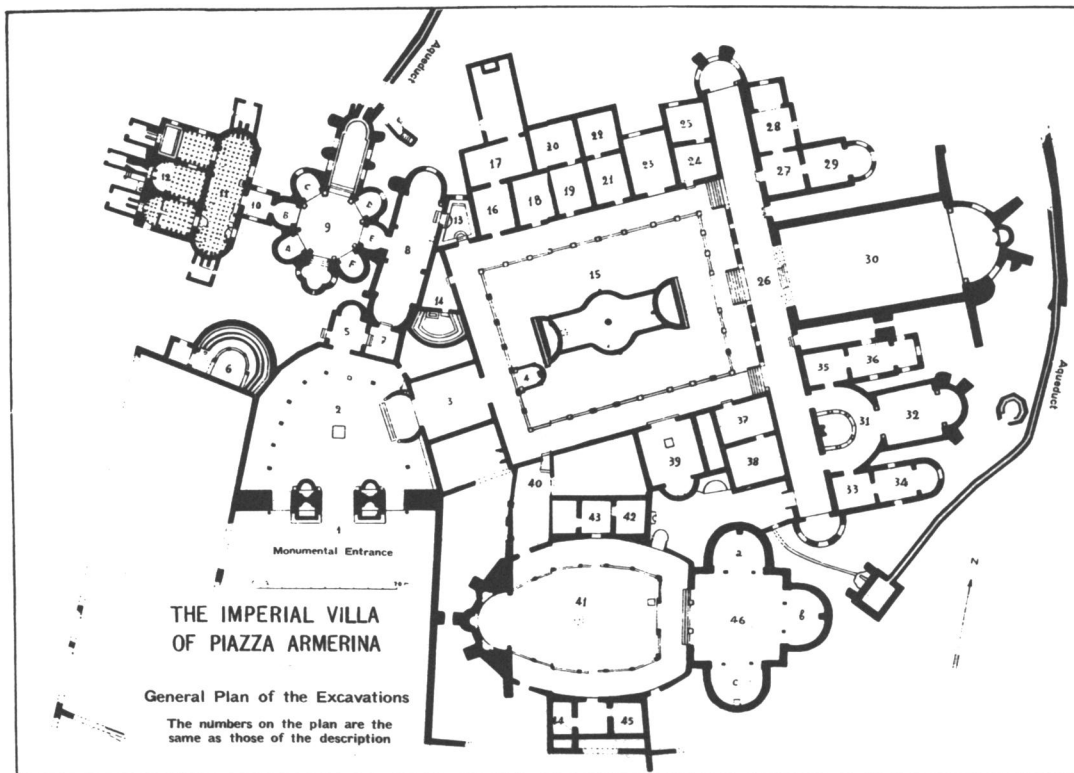
2. Portus Magnus, Roman Villa, Triclinium Mosaic, detail (*Inventaire*)



3. Piazza Armerina, Roman Villa, Mosaic Pavement, *Glorification of Hercules* (photo: Gab. Fot. Naz., Rome)

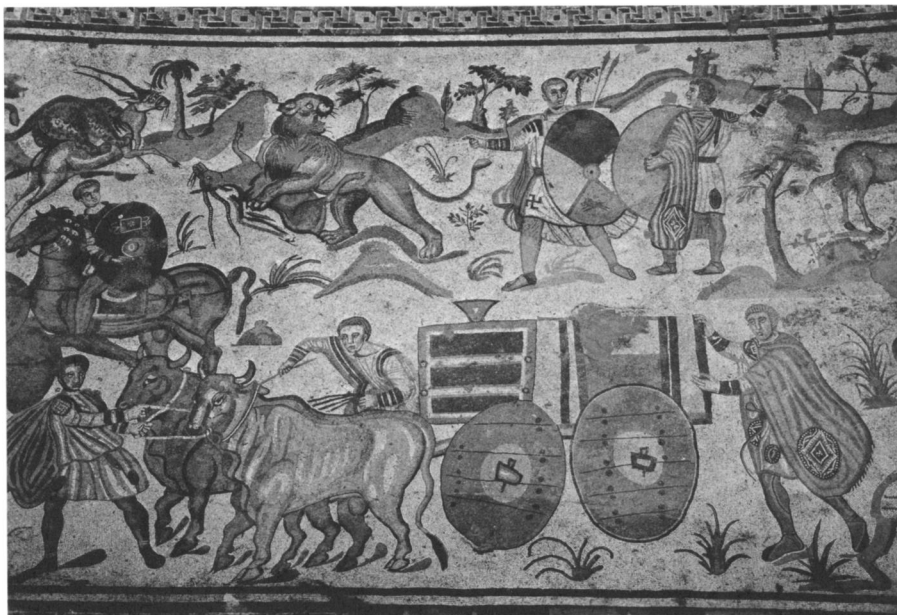


4. Carthage, Roman Villa, Mosaic Pavement (photo: C. Poinssot)



5. Piazza Armerina, Roman Villa (From Gentili)

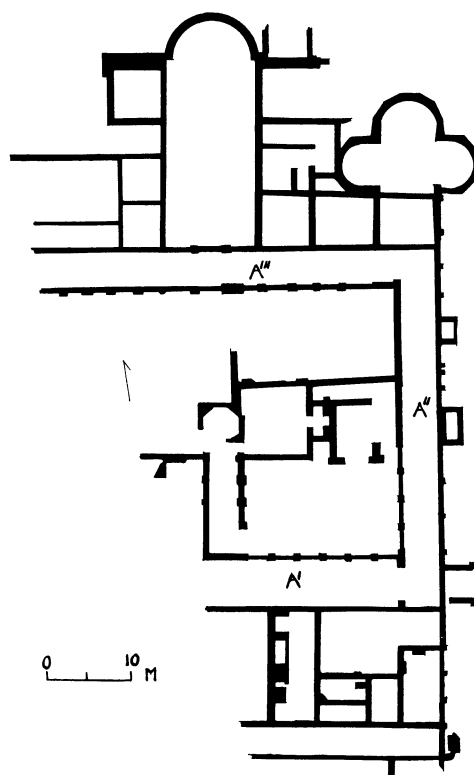




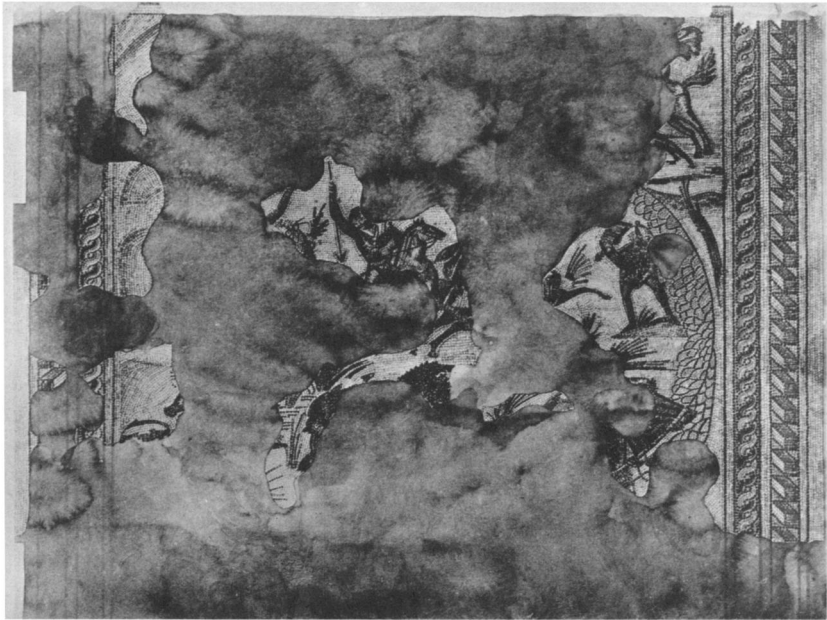
6. Piazza Armerina, Roman Villa, Mosaic Pavement, Hunting Scene  
(photo: Gab. Fot. Naz., Rome)



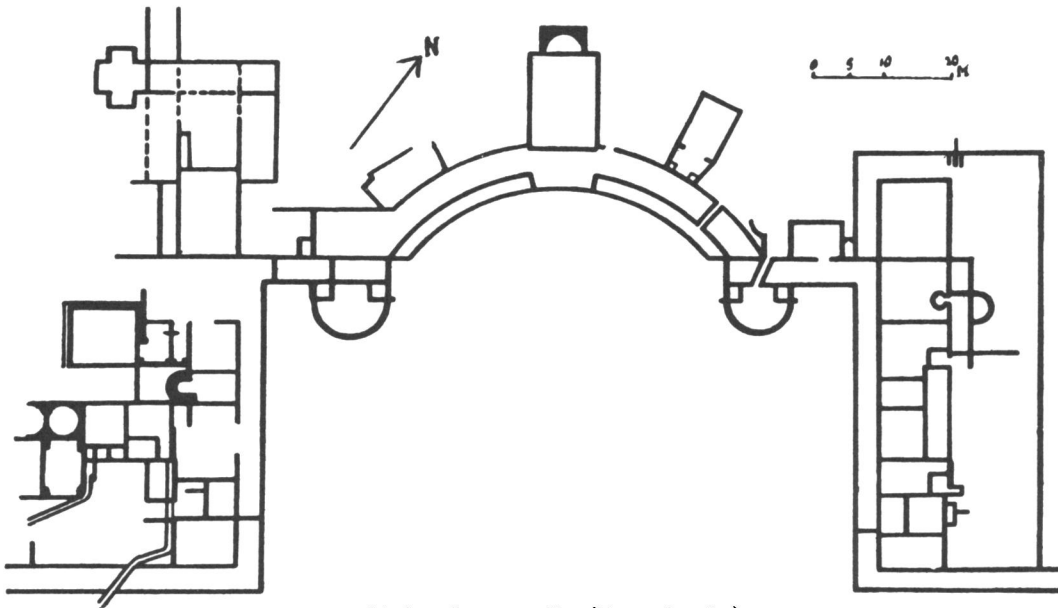
7. Hippo Regius, Roman Villa, Mosaic Pavement, Hunting Scene (*Inventaire*)



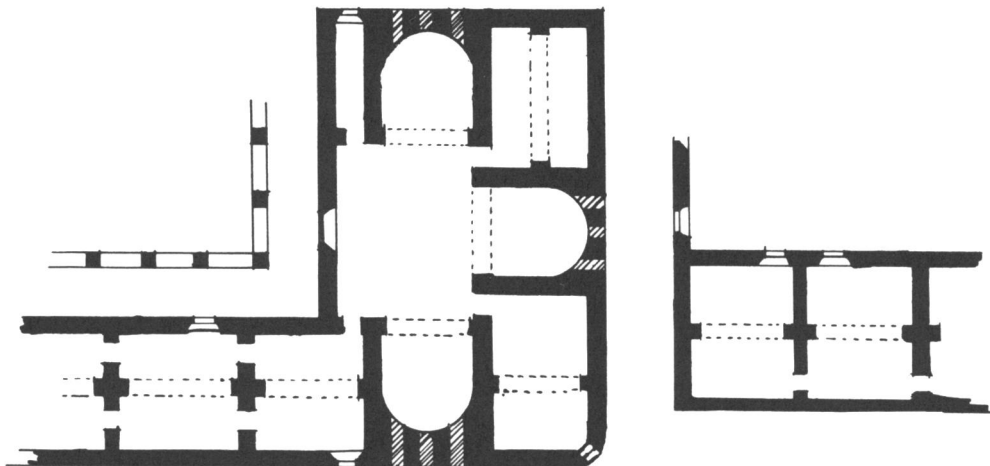
8. Ravenna, So-called "Palace of Theodoric" (After Ghirardini)



9. Ravenna, So-called "Palace of Theodoric," Mosaic Pavement,  
Hunting Scene (From Ghirardini)

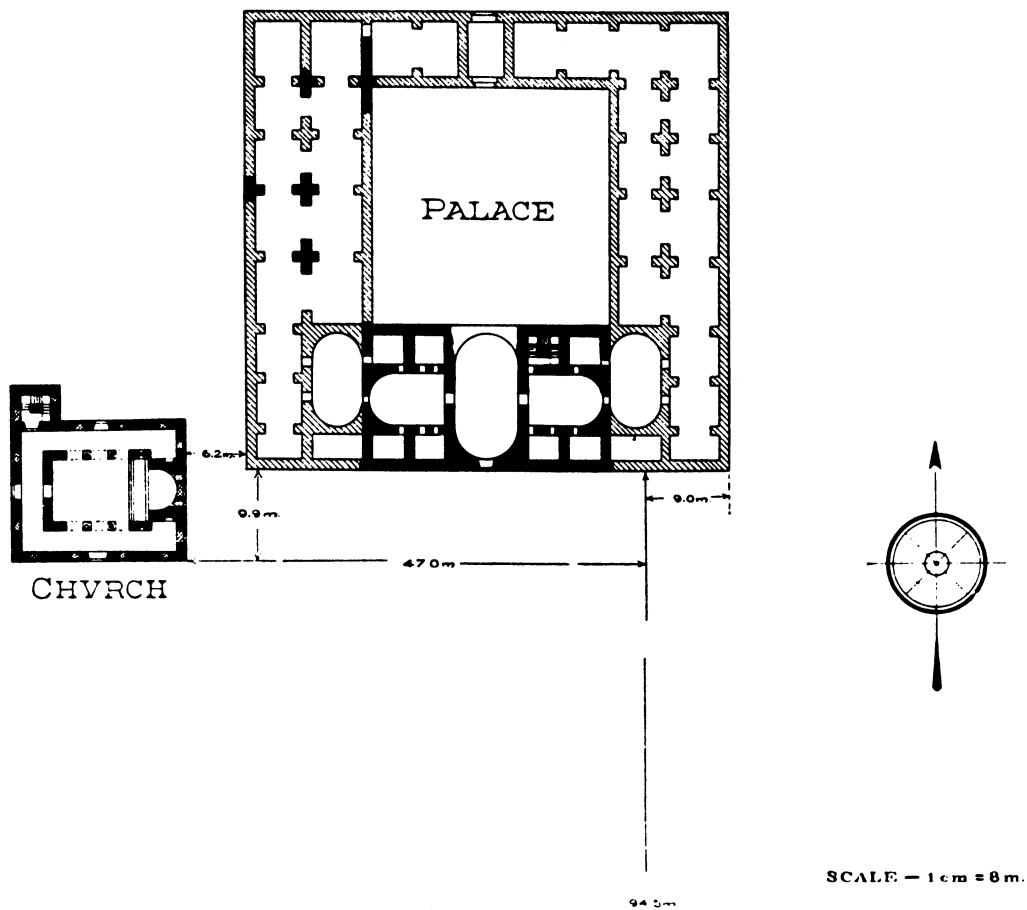


10. Teting, Roman Villa (From Grenier)

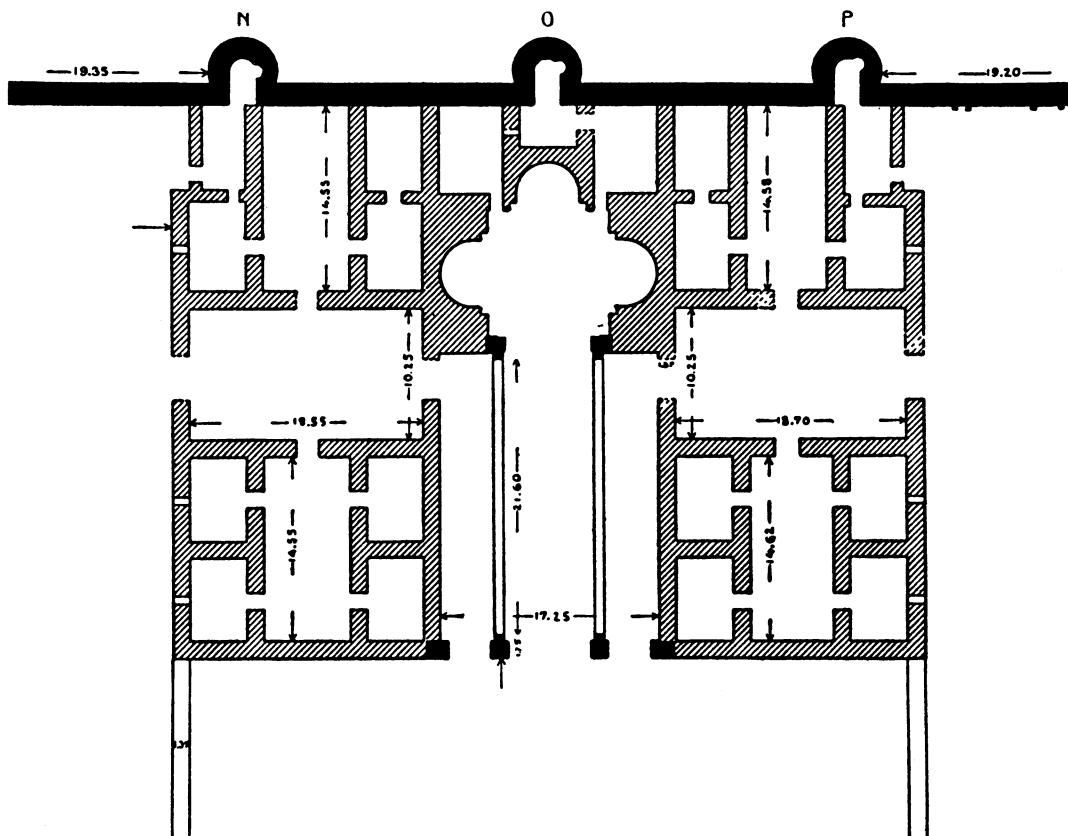


11. Bosra, Palace (After Butler)

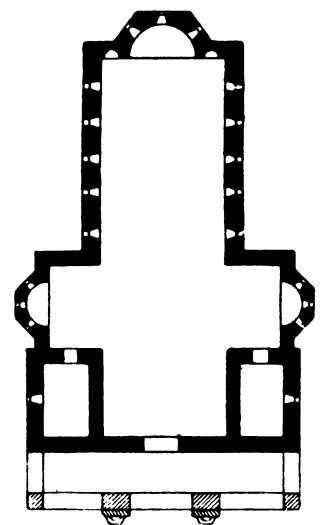




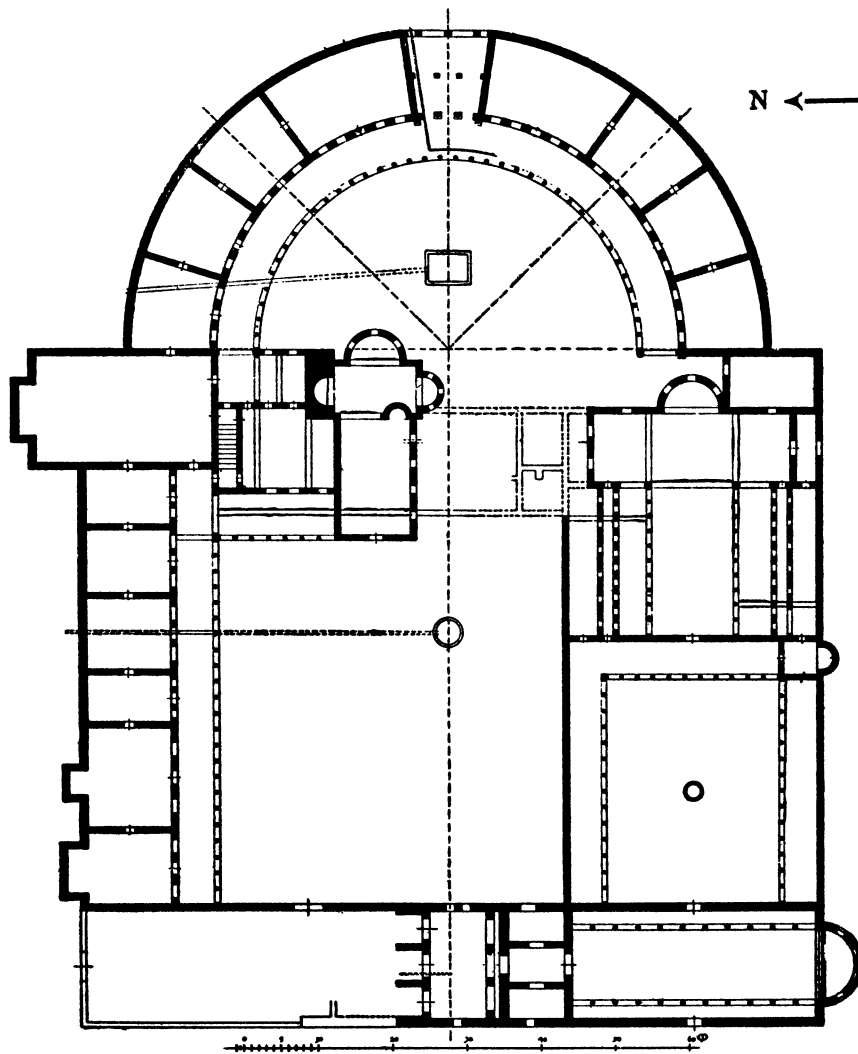
12. Kasr Ibn Wardan, Palace (From Butler)



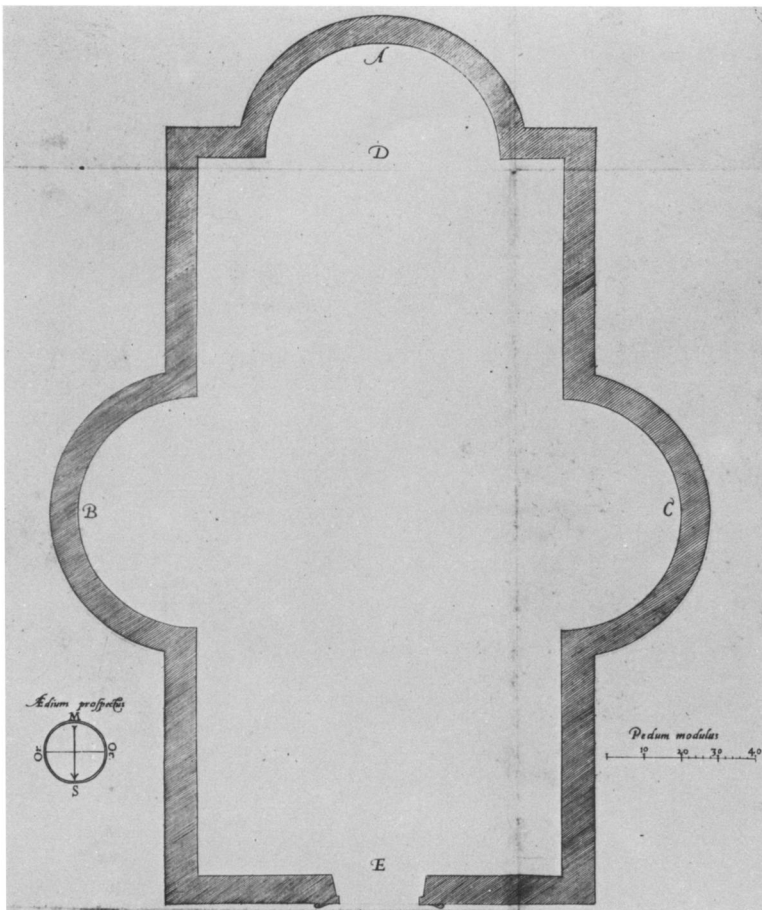
13. Mschatta, Palace, detail (From Cresswell)



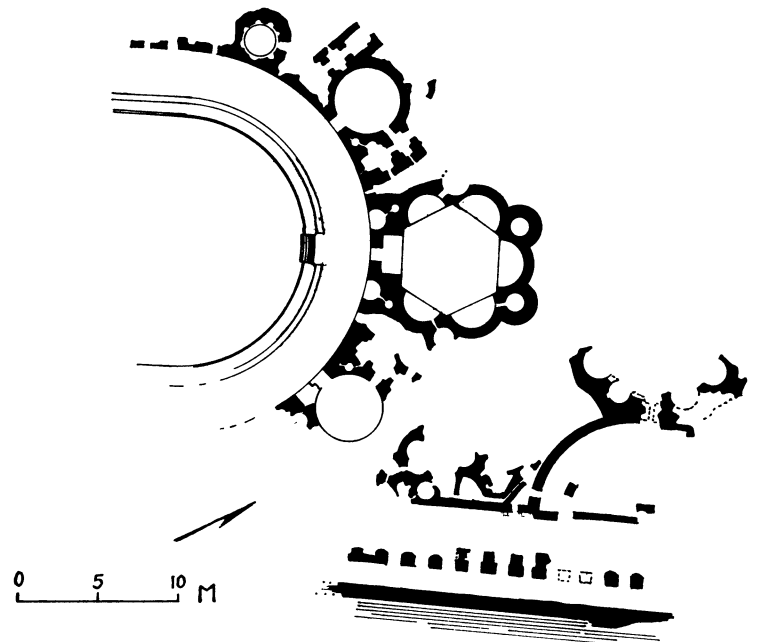
14. Mt. Athos, Vatopedi Monastery, Refectory (From Orlandos)



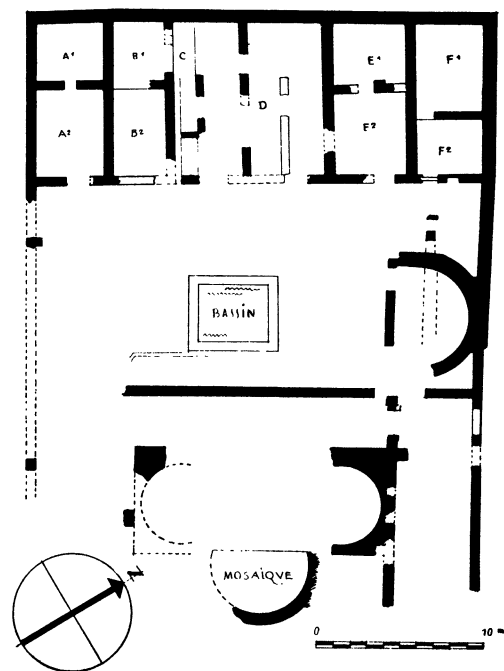
15. Ingelheim, Palace of Charlemagne (From Rauch)



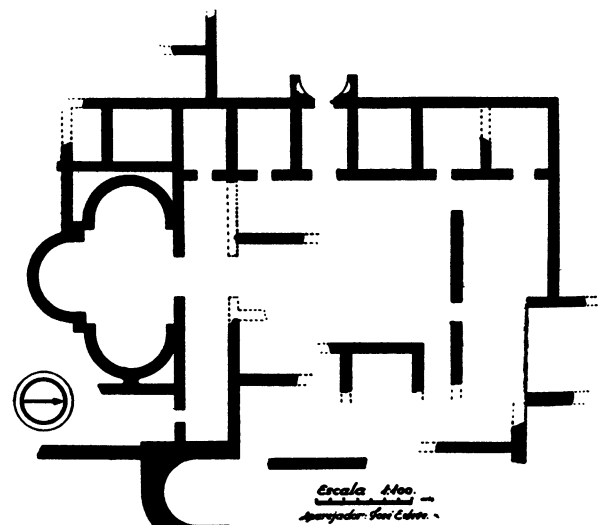
16. Rome, Lateran, Triclinium of Leo III (From Alemanni)



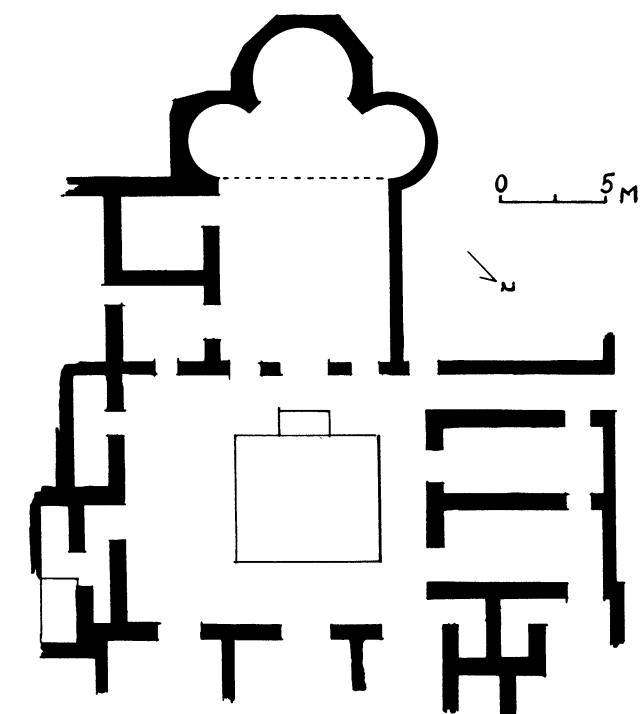
17. Constantinople, Palaces of Antiochus (S. Euphemia) and Lausus (After Duyuran)



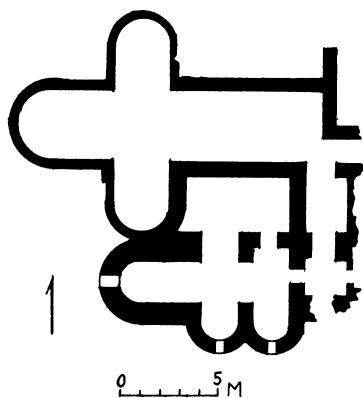
18. Carthage, Roman Villa (From G.-Ch. Picard)



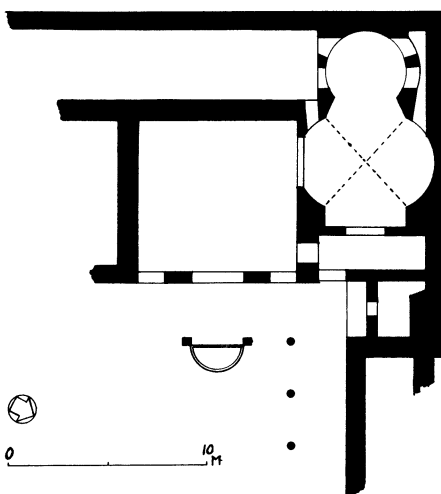
21. Ecija, Roman Villa (From Hernández Díaz)



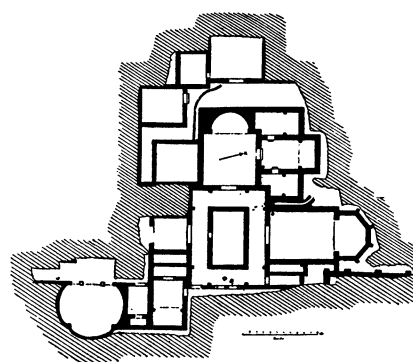
25. Thuburbo Majus, "Maison du Char de Vénus" (Approximate plan, after a sketch by C. Poinssot)



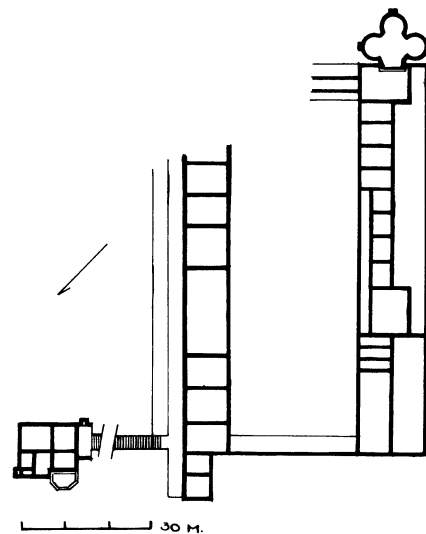
19. El-Alia, Roman Villa (After D. Novak)



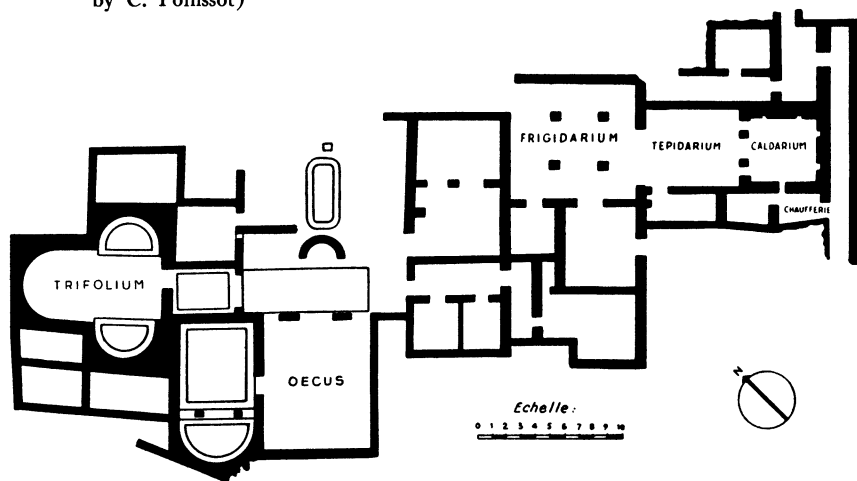
22. Dougga, Triconch from Roman Villa (Approximate plan, after a sketch by C. Poinssot)



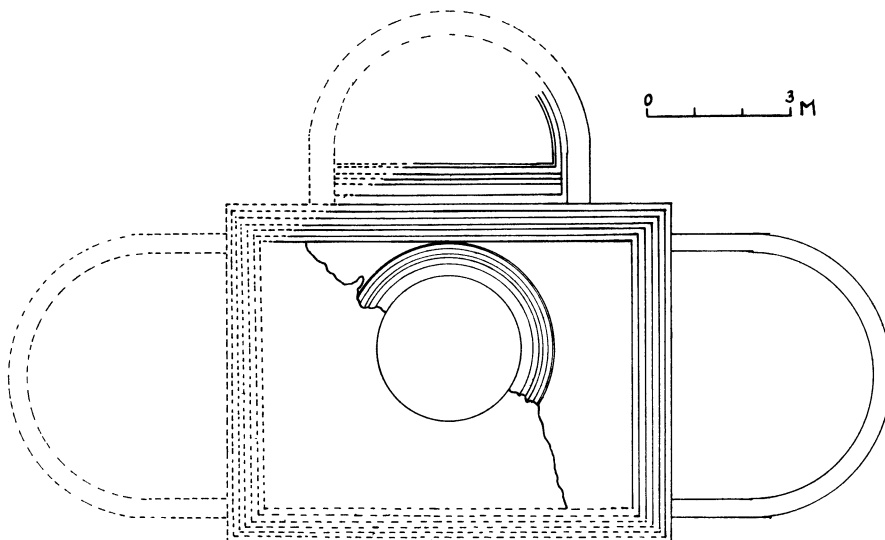
20. Alemauras de Adaja, Roman Villa (From García y Bellido)



23. Saint-Cricq-Villeneuve, Roman Villa (After Dufourcet)



24. Thuburbo Majus, Roman Villa (From L. Poinssot and P. Quoniam)



26. Blanzzy-lès-Fismes, Triconch from Roman Villa (After Stern)

eighteenth century reconstruction of the apse that still exists next to the Scala Santa, and from a number of descriptions, drawings, and watercolors made before the apse was dismantled.<sup>91</sup> In the conch was a representation of the Mission of the Apostles, while on the spandrels of the arch two scenes were juxtaposed: on the left was Christ giving the Keys to Pope Sylvester (or Peter) and an oriflamme to Constantine the Great; on the right, St. Peter was shown giving the *pallium* to Pope Leo, while now it is Charlemagne who receives the standard.<sup>92</sup>

That the triconch held a powerful appeal for the papacy is shown by the fact that it was again adopted for the triclinium added to the Lateran palace by Gregory IV (827-844).<sup>93</sup> But Leo's triconch makes explicit the reason for this appeal; with the decorations it embodied not only the association of spiritual with temporal power, but also the conception of that association in terms of the *Renovatio Imperii Romani*.<sup>94</sup> In this latter respect it is of particular interest that, so far as we can tell, no triconches had been produced in the Latin west since the end of the fifth century at the latest.

The triconch, however, played a much greater role in the Carolingian Renaissance than even these papal examples would suggest. For modern excavations uncovered a triconch in Charlemagne's own palace at Ingelheim. There a hall with three apses, preceded by a rectangular room, opened off the main central courtyard (Fig. 15).<sup>95</sup> It was located near the center of the complex, which to the north ended in a huge semicircular flight of rooms with a colonnade on the inner side. That it functioned primarily as a triclinium is indicated by its placement near the living quarters of the palace on the north side; the basilical hall with the famous paintings of ancient rulers and of Charlemagne's Frankish ancestors,<sup>96</sup> was in the southwest corner of the court.

When the three greatest powers in Christendom, the Byzantine emperor, Charlemagne, and the pope, all employ the same architectural motif in their palaces, within two generations of each other, it cannot be regarded as coincidental.<sup>97</sup> Yet, it is not a simple matter to determine what precisely was the relationship between them. The triclinium of Leo III can be dated within fairly narrow limits by its mosaic decoration. It must have been executed after Leo's election in 795, and before Charlemagne was crowned emperor in 800, since his portrait was labeled *Rex*.<sup>98</sup> The palace at Ingelheim can be fixed only indirectly. Charlemagne had been to Rome in 774, and the construction at Ingelheim has recently been assigned to the period thereafter, up to the Roman visit of 787.<sup>99</sup> Yet, Einhard in his life of the emperor seems to imply that the building

91. *Ibid.*, pp. 108ff.; cf. also J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhundert*, Text 1, Freiburg i. B., 1917, pp. 155ff.

92. On the identity of the personage with Constantine cf. G. B. Ladner, *I ritratti dei papi nell'antichità e nel medioevo*, 1, Rome, 1941, p. 118.

93. *Liber Pont.*, ed.cit., II, p. 76:

Verum etiam fecit in patriarchio Lateranense triclinium mire magnitudinis decoratum, cum absida de musibo; seu et alias absidas duas, dextra leuaque posita in parcellaria, variis storiis depictas.

94. For a parallel interpretation of the apse mosaic, as it bears upon the Carolingian revival of Early Christian forms in church architecture see R. Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture," *ART BULLETIN*, XXIV, 1942, pp. 36f.

95. The excavations took place 1908-1914. Cf. C. Rauch, "Die Pfalz Karls des Grossen zu Ingelheim am Rhein," in *Neue deutsche Ausgraben*, ed. G. Rodenwaldt (Deutschum und Ausland, 23-24), Münster i. W., 1930, pp. 266ff. (fig. 1, p. 271, our Fig. 15).

96. Ermoldus Nigellus, *De laude Hludowici*, IV, vv. 244ff., (cf. J. von Schlosser, *Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der karolingischen Kunst*, [Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte und Kunsttechnik, N.F. vol. IV], Vienna, 1892, no. 1007, pp. 364f.).

97. The *aula regia* of Charlemagne's palace at Aachen (partially preserved in the present Rathaus) has also been restored as a triconch; cf. P. Clemen, "Fouilles et explorations dans l'enceinte du Palais impérial carolingien et de la cathédrale d'Aix-la-Chapelle," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 62, 1912, pp. 213ff. (plan p. 219). Later K. Faymonville and J. Laurent report that the assumption of apses on the north and south flanks is "ohne Belang," and reproduce a plan in which an apse appears on the north side and a solarium on the south (*Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, ed. P. Clemen, vol. X, pt. III, Düsseldorf, 1924, p. 126, fig. 8, p. 65).

The question seems to rest in part on the interpretation of foundations discovered during restorations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They were regarded as apses by J. H. Kessel and K. Rhoen, "Beschreibung und Geschichte der karolingischen Pfalz zu Aachen," *Zeits. d. Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 3, 1881, pp. 42f., and K. Rhoen, *Die karolingische Pfalz zu Aachen*, Aachen, 1889, pp. 56ff.; but not by F. von Reber, "Der karolingische Palastbau. II. Der Palast zu Aachen," *Abhlg. d. k. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, III Cl., XX, 1892, pp. 229f. On the solarium cf. E. Adenaw, "Archäologische Funde in Aachen nach dem Jahr 1889," *Zeits. d. Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, 36, 1914, p. 120.

98. Cf. Krautheimer, *loc.cit.*

99. Rauch, *op.cit.*, pp. 275f., followed by E. Lehmann, *Der frühe deutsche Kirchenbau*, Berlin, 1938, p. 118.

was only begun by him,<sup>100</sup> and its decorations are attributed to Louis the Pious in Nigellus' eulogy.<sup>101</sup> Thus Clemen dated the Ingelheim palace as late as 807-817.<sup>102</sup> If the later date for the Ingelheim palace is correct, its triconch may well have been inspired by Leo's building in the Lateran.<sup>103</sup> But it is possible that Ingelheim was the earlier of the two. And in any event we should still have to inquire what may have been the original source.

We are at liberty to assume that the Carolingian triconches were directly revived from an earlier western model. In that case the palace at Ravenna would acquire additional importance, particularly if it was indeed associated with Theodoric. Charlemagne certainly visited Ravenna on more than one occasion;<sup>104</sup> and it hardly needs repeating that he actually transferred materials from Ravenna to Ingelheim as well as Aachen, including for the latter an equestrian statue of Theodoric.<sup>105</sup> But it is also possible that the Carolingian examples were derived from Byzantium, since many other factors, some of which we shall consider below, point in the direction of Constantinople.<sup>106</sup>

In fact, the available evidence does not permit a choice between the late empire in the west or Byzantium, as a source for the Carolingian triconches. Either explanation would be consistent both with the notion of a revived Roman empire and with the association of spiritual and temporal sovereignty.<sup>107</sup> Indeed, since Byzantium was recognized even by Charlemagne as a legitimate continuation of the Roman empire,<sup>108</sup> there is no doubt that the distinction we draw between them is largely anachronistic. And the triconch may have been regarded as a kind of architectural "sign of sovereignty," beyond time and space. One point stands out sharply. The Carolingian triconches were produced by an act of will, a deliberate emulation of some alien model.

That the motif was considered an important feature of palace design as early as the sixth century is indicated by the fact that it was included in the Latin palace-paradigm discussed at the beginning of this paper. This in itself suggests that the triconch was already becoming part of an ideal. But equally suggestive is the fact that the triconch was also considered appropriate when, in translating the Passion of St. Thomas into Latin, the description was added to the account of the palace

100. *Vita Karoli*, ch. 17 (Monum. Germ. Hist., Scriptores, II, Hannover, 1829, p. 452).

101. Above n. 96.

102. *Westd. Zeits.*, 1890, pp. 54f.

103. It is well known that the palace at Aachen, which is actually referred to in the sources as the "Lateran," may have been influenced by the papal residence; cf. Krautheimer, *ART BULLETIN*, 1942, p. 35f., also K. G. Stephani, *Der älteste deutsche Wohnbau*, II, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 127ff. and 177.

104. Cf. J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta imperii*, ed. E. Mühlbacher, 2nd ed., Innsbruck, 1908, nos. 288a, p. 118, 396b, p. 163, 371d, p. 167.

105. For Aachen, cf. Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, ch. 26 (Schlosser, *Schriftquellen*, no. 100, p. 26); *Chronicon magnum Belgicum*, *ibid.*, no. 101; also *Codex Carolinus*, 81 (Mon. Germ. Hist., Epistolae, III, Berlin, 1892, p. 614), referring specifically to the palace at Ravenna.

It is often overlooked that columns from Ravenna were also supposed to have been used in the palace at Ingelheim (Notker, *Gesta Karoli*, Bk. V, vv. 439f., Schlosser, *Schriftquellen*, no. 144, p. 40).

On the statue, which may first have represented the emperor Zeno, cf. Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ch. 94 (Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum, Hannover, 1878, p. 338), Walafrid Strabo, *Versus in Aquisgradi Palatio . . . de imagine Tetrici* (Schlosser, *Schriftquellen*, no. 1140, pp. 432ff.).

Theodoric's palace was considered the direct source for Aachen by F. von Reber, *Abhlg. der k. bayer. Akad. der Wiss.*, III Cl., XIX, 1891, pp. 722ff., 789ff. See also the discussion, based on the subsequent excavations at Ravenna and the assumption of three apses at Aachen, in B. Thordeman,

*Alsno Hus* (Swedish), Stockholm, 1920, pp. 115ff.; he later changed his mind, in favor of an "oriental" origin ("Der Karolingerpalast in Aachen als Trikonchos," in *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens* [Festschrift Strzygowski], Vienna and Hellderau, 1923, pp. 241f.).

106. See the richly documented study by H. Fichtenau, "Byzanz und die Pfalz zu Aachen," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, LIX, 1951, pp. 1ff.; in general, W. Ohnsorge, "Byzanz und das Abendland im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert," *Saeculum*, V, 1954, pp. 194ff.

Fichtenau points out (pp. 42f.) that the Lateran too, may not have been unaffected by Byzantium. Among the possible connections is a second, multi-apsed triclinium built at the Lateran by Leo III; it has been related to the Triclinium of the Nineteen Couches in the Great Palace by Lauer, *op.cit.*, pp. 103ff.

107. An interesting point in the latter connection is that the Lateran is first referred to as *sacrum palatium* (it had generally been called *patriarchium*) in a document of 813, as an outgrowth of the Donation of Constantine; both the name and Donation were to play important roles in the temporalization of papal power (Cf. R. Elze, "Das 'sacrum palatium Lateranense' im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert," *Studi Gregoriani*, IV, 1952, pp. 27ff.).

108. Cf. Bury, *op.cit.*, pp. 319f.; Charlemagne's efforts to legalize his crown (including a proposal of marriage to the Empress Irene) were directed mainly to obtaining recognition from Constantinople (*ibid.*, cf. also K. Jäntere, *Die römische Weltreichsidee und die Entstehung der weltlichen Macht des Papstes* [Annales Universitatis Turkuensis, Ser. B, vol. XXI], Turku, 1936, pp. 342ff.).

designed by the apostle for the Indian monarch. In Latin eyes the triconch was becoming "oriental" as well as ideal.<sup>109</sup> And indeed from the sixth through the eighth century, as we have seen, the triconch was dormant in the west, while it continued as a living tradition only in the east. Thus, it may be quite significant that the Carolingian examples seem at once a revival, the realization of an ideal, and a pointed reference to Byzantium.

After the florescence of the Carolingian period, the triconch seems to have disappeared from the repertory of mediaeval palace architecture. At least I have not encountered any later examples. Yet it left an indelible mark not only on literary tradition, but in what at first glance would seem to be a quite unexpected branch of architectural history. The trifolium was taken up for monastic refectories in the east, and was used for this purpose at a very late phase in the evolution of Byzantine monastic architecture (Fig. 14).<sup>110</sup> This development may reflect a general shift of the architectural center of gravity from the secular to the ecclesiastical sphere. But perhaps more fundamentally, it represents a triumph of what might be called the "functional" basis of mediaeval architectural tradition. For the triconch evidently retained, beneath every associative overlay, an identification with the triclinium, a place to eat.

The full significance of this functional principle of continuity is best appreciated, however, from what happened in the west. There, so far as I can discover, the triconch played no role in the actual design of refectories. And yet, the term *tritorium* was often used as the name for the monastic dining hall.<sup>111</sup> In the west, it would seem, the power of association was so strong as to override the logical implications of real architecture. This in a sense is analogous to the phenomenon we observed in the literary palace tradition; the triconch continued to accumulate associations until in the fourteenth century it formed part of an imaginary and divine world. At the beginning it may have been introduced into the *Passio S. Thomae* because, after a long development in the late antique period, it was "natural" that a royal palace have a triconch; it was included in *L'Intelligenza* because by then it had become unnatural.

## II

### THE CENTRAL PLAN IN PALACES AND CHURCHES

One of the most conspicuous forms adopted for the "emphasized" triclinium or reception hall is the central plan, examples of which are known from a very early period in Roman imperial palace architecture. Perhaps the most famous documented example is the revolving circular dining room

109. In fact, several of the texts contain a curious error which suggests that the eastern building tradition actually affected the Latin literary tradition. In order to understand it, however, a brief recapitulation of some of our results will be useful. We have seen that both the triconch and the sigma were Roman forms which, although brought together occasionally in the west, became closely associated as an architectural formula only later in the east. We have also seen that the term *trichorus* has a long history in Latin. The word *sigma*, on the other hand, although widely used in Greek from at least the fifth century, to my knowledge occurs in Latin as an architectural term only in certain manuscripts of the palace description, and in a related gloss (Huelsen, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1902, p. 259; apparently Brussels ms. 9742 mentioned by Clemen, *Westd. Zeits.*, 1890, p. 112, should be added). This in itself is an indication of some contact with the Greek east. But the context in which the term occurs is even more suggestive, and shows that the contact was with precisely the traditions we have been following. Many of the texts include short explanatory phrases after each term. Thus, the eleventh century grammarian Papias gives this description:

Tricora tres cameras vel absidas.

But in the group in question the following definition occurs:

Tricorum vel tricornus locus prandii, qui et sima dicitur.

The erroneous identification of *tritorium* with *sigma* demonstrates not only that the eastern tradition in which the two motifs were linked was known in the west, but that it was sufficiently strange to engender a very obvious confusion. (The confusion was perhaps compounded by the prior use of *sigma* for a semicircular dining table. *Sima* or *syra* in the Latin texts is not necessarily a direct corruption of the Greek *σίγμα*, since the form *σίμμα* is also known, in the inscription from Side cited above, n. 70; cf. A. W. van Buren, "Inscriptions from Asia Minor, Cyprus, and the Cyrenaica," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 28, 1908, pp. 196f.).

110. Cf. J. von Schlosser, *Die abendländische Klosteranlage des frühen Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1889, pp. 36f.; H. Rahtgens, *Die Kirche S. Maria im Kapitol zu Köln*, Düsseldorf, 1913, p. 130 n. 1. Refectory of Vatopedi monastery, Mt. Athos, A.D. 1785; A. K. Orlandos, *Μοναστηριακή ἀρχιτεκτονική*, Athens, 1958, fig. 51, p. 44.

111. See the examples quoted in Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, Paris, 1840ff., VI, p. 668, s.v. "Trichorus."

in the Domus Aurea of Nero, described by Suetonius.<sup>112</sup> Among the ruins of the Domus Aurea a great octagonal hall is actually preserved, and analogous centralized structures occur in the Domus Flavia and the Domus Augustana on the Palatine, and in the Villa Adriana.<sup>113</sup>

From the late third and early fourth centuries several other notable examples are preserved or documented. In the palace of Diocletian at Spalato a vast circular hall with projecting niches formed the goal of the northern of the four axial ways that divide the plan. And we know that an "Octagonos" formed part of the palace built by Constantine in the new capital.<sup>114</sup> Thus, even though the specific function cannot be determined in each case, certainly the central plan had become a prominent element in imperial palace architecture by the time Christianity was officially recognized.<sup>115</sup>

Now Andreas Alföldi has shown that in the elaborate complex of symbolism and ceremonial that developed with the cult of the Roman emperors, the palace played an important role.<sup>116</sup> As all the emperor's activities were sacred, the ceremonies that took place in the palace were considered a holy ritual, a *sancti palatii ritus*.<sup>117</sup> And the palace itself came to be regarded as a temple.<sup>118</sup> This view of the royal residence as a sacred precinct also became a fundamental element in the mediaeval notion of kingship: the palace of Theodoric was called *domus divina* and that of the Byzantine emperors was commonly referred to as τὸ ἱερὸν παλάτιον, or the like;<sup>119</sup> both the Lateran palace, as we have seen, and Charlemagne's palace at Aachen were *sacra palatia*.<sup>120</sup>

An equally well-known fact is that with the establishment of Christianity as the state religion, many of its official aspects were conceived in terms of the imperial cult.<sup>121</sup> Christ himself was identified with the emperor, as the heavenly βασιλεύς.<sup>122</sup> The heavens are "imperial domiciles," and the eternal city a palace.<sup>123</sup> Of course the church as the "House of the Lord" is a familiar concept in early Christian ideology.<sup>124</sup> But it is particularly important from the architectural point of view that the church is also described in the same terms as the royal palace.<sup>125</sup> The name most frequently em-

112. Nero, 31:

Praecipua cenationum rotunda, quae perpetuo diebus ac noctibus vice mundi circumageretur

Cf. K. Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," ART BULLETIN, XXVII, 1945, p. 22. See the comments of H. P. L'Orange, "Domus Aurea—Der Sonnenpalast," in *Serta Eitremiana*, Oslo, 1942, pp. 72ff.; L'Orange regards Nero's hall already as a ceremonial throne room, though this has been doubted (cf. Ward Perkins, "Nero's Golden House," *Antiquity*, xxx, 1956, p. 211 and references cited there, n. 4).

113. On the octagon in the Domus Aurea, those in the Domus Flavia and Domus Augustana, and the central elements in the Villa Adriana, cf. H. Kähler, *op.cit.*, pp. 99ff., *et passim*.

114. Janin, *Const. Byz.*, pp. 113f.; cf. Ebersolt, *op.cit.*, pp. 53ff. In the Book of Ceremonies the Octagonos serves as a waiting room and vestuary; Ebersolt observes, however (*ibid.*, p. 55), that the palace had been considerably enlarged since Constantine's day, when it may have been part of the imperial living quarters (cf. Vogt, *ed.cit.*, I, commentary, p. 27).

115. It has been maintained (P. Grimal, "Les Horti Tauriani," *École fr. de Rome, Mélanges*, LIII, 1936, pp. 282ff.) that the so-called "Temple of Minerva Medica" was part of the palace built by Gallienus (253-268). Ward Perkins reports that recent study by Deichmann indicates it was a "formal garden-pavilion," datable A.D. 310-320 (*Proc. Brit. Acad.*, 1947, n. 39).

Cf. also the rotunda of the Horti Sallustiani, described as a "cenatio festiva d'estate" by K. Lehmann-Hartleben and J. Lindros, "Il palazzo degli Orti Sallustiani," *Opuscula Archaeologica*, I, 1935, p. 221.

116. "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe," *Röm. Mitt.*, 49, 1934, pp. 1ff.

117. Pacatus, Panegyric of Theodosius, XXI, 1 (ed. E. Galletier, III, Paris, 1955, p. 87; cf. Alföldi, *op.cit.*, p. 33).

118. Alföldi, *op.cit.*, pp. 31ff.

119. Cf. O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell*, Darmstadt, 1956, pp. 50f., with many references.

120. Above, n. 107; on the palace at Aachen cf. Fichtenau, *op.cit.*, pp. 13f., who regards this as a reflection of Byzantine usage.

121. With respect to art, A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, Paris, 1936, part 3, pp. 189ff., see also below, n. 131.

122. J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit*, Berlin, 1941, pp. 145ff., with numerous references; K. M. Setton, *Christian Attitude towards the Emperor in the Fourth Century*, New York, 1941, pp. 47f., and *passim*. Kollwitz in *Reallex. f. Ant. u. Chr.*, II, cols. 1257ff., s.v. "Christus (Basileus)." I have been unable to consult the work of E. Peterson, *Christus als Imperator* (Beiträge zur Kontroverstheologie, I, Catholica, no. 5), Paderborn, 1936.

123. See the passages in Eusebius, Chrysostomos, and Proclus cited by Kollwitz, *Ostr. Plastik*, p. 147, and Setton, *op.cit.*, p. 48.

124. It is stated in an edict of Constantine himself, quoted by Eusebius, *Vita Const.*, II, LV, Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, vol. 20, cols. 1029f.; cf. S. Lang, "A few suggestions towards a new solution of the origin of the early Christian basilica," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 30, 1954, pp. 196f. However, F. J. Dölger emphasizes that it should not be thought of in the sense of the dwelling place of God ("Kirche" als Name für den christlichen Kultbau," *Antike und Christentum*, VI, 3, 1941, p. 192).

125. Kollwitz has pointed out (review of L. Kitschelt, *Die frühchristliche Basilika als Darstellung des himmlischen Jerusalem*, Munich, 1938, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 42, 1943-49, p. 275) that Eusebius uses the term βασιλικὸς οἶκος (i.e. "royal palace") in reference to churches. Cf. also Lang, *op.cit.*, p. 195. For analogous terms applied to churches—κυριακόν, οἶκος κυριακός, *dominicum*—cf. Dölger, *op.cit.*, pp. 161ff.

ployed for a church, "basilica," while it acquired generic significance, never lost the royal connotations of its derivation.<sup>126</sup> Isidore of Seville (d. 636) indeed says that the word was first applied to the royal palace, and is now used for churches because in them worship and sacrifices are offered to God, "Ruler of all."<sup>127</sup> Similarly *aula*, which had taken on the meaning of "palace" in classical writers, became a usual form of reference to churches.<sup>128</sup> Paulinus of Nola (d. 431) actually described the church of Felix at Nola as a *palatium*.<sup>129</sup>

Thus textual evidence abounds to show that by the mid-fourth century there was a fully developed metaphorical equation between the royal palace and the Christian church. In fact various suggestions have been made for deriving the Christian basilica or certain of its prominent features from imperial palace architecture;<sup>130</sup> suggestions that are valuable to the degree to which it is realized that a metaphor does not necessarily reflect actual practice, much less motivate it.<sup>131</sup> And considering the importance of centralized palace triclinia and reception halls, as outlined above, the question also arises whether this tradition might shed some light on the origin of centralized Christian buildings.<sup>132</sup> This too is a suggestion that has been made before,<sup>133</sup> but again a certain amount of new material is available that makes it advisable to reexamine the matter.

We shall consider the problem under two headings, first as concerns centralized churches in general, and second with respect to the centrally planned chapels that became one of the most familiar features of palace design during the Middle Ages. It will become evident that conclusive proofs are available at only a few stages in the argument, which is therefore offered as an hypothesis, to be tested against the results of further research. Moreover, it includes only modest additions to the wealth of evidence regarding the central plan in Christian architecture considered *in extenso* by André Grabar in his monumental treatise *Martyrium*. In the main, the value of the present thesis lies in its ability to account for the difficulties that arise when certain key individual monuments and

I am unable to locate the passage in Augustine cited by G. Bandmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger*, Berlin, 1951, p. 95 n. 225: *Templum Regis ipsa Ecclesia*.

126. Cf. E. J. Bickerman, review of J. Sauvaget, *La Mosquée oméyyade de Médina*, Paris, 1947, in *Classical Philology*, 44, 1949, p. 142.

127. *Etymologiarum*, xv, 4, 11:

*Basilicae* prius vocabantur regum habitacula, unde et nomen habent; nam βασιλεὺς rex, et *basilicae* regiae habitationes. Nunc autem ideo divini templa basilicae nominantur, quia ibi Regi omnium Deo cultus, et sacrificia offeruntur. (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. 82, col. 545.)

Cf. Lang, *loc.cit.*, who cites this passage.

128. Kollwitz, *Byz. Zeits.*, 1943-49, p. 275; Lang, *op.cit.*, pp. 191ff.

129. *Carmen* 28, v. 97, Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. 61, col. 665; quoted by Lang, *op.cit.*, p. 193.

130. See the pioneer observations of A. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *Röm. Mitt.*, 50, 1935, pp. 127ff., and R. Krautheimer, "The Beginning of Early Christian Architecture," *Review of Religion*, 1939, pp. 137f. The problem has been the subject of much speculation, and subsequent bibliography should be used with caution; I quote indiscriminately: E. Dyggve, *Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum*, Copenhagen, 1941, pp. 54f., and *passim* (critique by N. Duval, *École fr. de Rome, Mélanges*, 1960, pp. 337ff.); Kollwitz, *Byz. Zeits.*, 1943-49, pp. 274f.; J. Sauvaget, *op.cit.*, pp. 167ff.; E. Langlotz in *Reallex. f. Ant. u. Chr.*, 1, col. 1249, s.v. "Basilika"; A. Stange, *Das frühchristliche Kirchengebäude als Bild des Himmels*, Cologne, 1950 (review by Kollwitz, *Byz. Zeits.*, 47, 1954, pp. 169f.); G. Bandmann, *op.cit.*, pp. 88ff. (review by R. Branner, *ART BULLETIN*, xxxv, 1953, pp. 307ff.); Lang, *op.cit.*, pp. 199ff.; Ward Perkins, "Constantine and the Origins of the Christian Basilica," *Papers of the Brit. Sch. at Rome*, xxii, 1954, pp. 69ff.; E. Baldwin Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome*

and the Middle Ages, Princeton, 1956, *passim*.

131. Thus, from a very early period there was an analogy between the private house and the Christian church, which was often referred to as the *domus dei* (*Thesaurus linguae latinae*, v, col. 1970). It is common knowledge that services were often held in the homes of private individuals, and as at Dura, a dwelling might be converted into a Christian community house. But the effort to derive the Christian basilica *in toto* from the Roman house plan was quite unsuccessful (G. Dehio and G. von Bezold, *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, Stuttgart, 1892, 1, pp. 70ff.).

Similarly, in the literary sources the identification Christ-Emperor is practically complete; yet artists seem never to have gone so far as actually to represent Christ as the emperor (cf. Treitinger, *op.cit.*, p. 52; J. Deér, "Das Kaiserbild im Kreuz," *Schweizer Beiträge zur allgemeinen Geschichte*, 13, 1955, pp. 83ff., and *passim*), even though many imperial attributes were adopted (K. Wessel, "Christus Rex, Kaiserkult und Christusbild," *Arch. Anz.*, 68, 1953, cols. 118ff.; Kollwitz in *Reallex. f. Ant. u. Chr.*, III, cols. 9f., 15f., 21, s.v. "Christusbild"; Deér, *op.cit.*, esp. pp. 90ff.).

132. It is scarcely necessary to emphasize that what has been said above does not apply only to longitudinal buildings; the term "basilica" for example, is of notoriously loose application, and at least by the late fourth century could be used even for centralized buildings (see Lang, *op.cit.*, p. 196, citing the *Peregrinatio Sanctae Silviae* of around 385 in reference to the Anastasis at Jerusalem). Later such buildings as San Vitale, the mausoleum of Theodoric, the chapel at Aachen, are referred to as "basilica."

133. R. Krautheimer, review of A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, Paris, 1943-1946, in *ART BULLETIN*, xxxv, 1953, p. 60, review of A. Calderini, G. Chierici, and C. Cecchelli, *La Basilica Maggiore di S. Lorenzo in Milano*, Milan, 1951, *ibid.*, p. 154; Lang, *op.cit.*, p. 207. Regarding S. Lorenzo cf. Strzygowski, *op.cit.*, pp. 233f.



whole traditions are derived entirely from martyria and the cult of relics. But the hypothesis is of some importance to our basic conceptions of the nature of early mediaeval architecture; for (baptisteries aside of course) it entails the conclusion that the central plan, rather than being exclusively of funereal origin, was at least in part a legacy of later Roman aulic art.

The most direct connection obtains, of course, where it can be shown that a palace building was actually transformed into a church. This happened to a longitudinal building in Rome as early as the middle of the fourth century, when a basilica of the Sessorian palace was converted into Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.<sup>134</sup> It is possible that a similar conversion took place in the case of a centralized building later in the century at Salonika, where a palace had been built by the emperor Galerius (305-317), one of Diocletian's successors in the tetrarchate.<sup>135</sup> Here the great rotunda with eight radiating niches was definitely related to the imperial constructions, as was shown by the discovery of a broad avenue connecting it with the Via Egnatia at Galerius' triumphal arch. It later became a church known since the tenth century as St. George's.<sup>136</sup> The original transformation presumably took place when the famous mosaics were added. These have generally been ascribed to the fifth century though the most recent studies would date them late in the fourth.<sup>137</sup> An important difficulty from our point of view is that the original function of the building is uncertain. It has been regarded as Galerius' mausoleum; but no trace of a mortuary crypt was discovered to support the hypothesis,<sup>138</sup> and it may have served some other purpose. (One suggestion is that it was Galerius' throne room.<sup>139</sup>) Thus, we cannot really be sure of the ideological nature of the conversion, and the essential question remains open: can we point to a centralized palace triclinium actually adopted as a church?

The basis for an affirmative answer was supplied by a series of excavations carried out recently at a site adjacent to the Hippodrome in Constantinople. These disclosed one of the most venerated churches in the capital throughout the Middle Ages, Saint Euphemia at the Hippodrome.<sup>140</sup> The building was hexagonal in plan; from five of its sides projected large apses, while smaller circular chambers were placed at the angles between the apses (Fig. 17). One entered at the southwest side from a great semicircular portico. The identity of the building was assured by its location at the northwest side of the Hippodrome (the church of Saint Euphemia is frequently referred to in the sources as being *ἐν τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ*<sup>141</sup>), and by the series of frescoes it contained depicting the life of St. Euphemia.

134. Cf. Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum*, I, pp. 165ff., *Review of Religion*, 1939, pp. 136f.; in the second half of the fifth century a private basilica that had been built in the early fourth century by one Junius Bassus (it is not certain which) became the church of Sant'Andrea in Catabarbara (Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum*, I, pp. 62f.); there is, as we noted (above, n. 37) a strong possibility that the church of Santa Balbina (which recalls the certainly pagan building at Djemila in plan) was converted from a private structure of the late fourth century, sometime before it is first mentioned in 595 (*ibid.*, pp. 82ff.). Krautheimer, *Review of Religion*, 1939, pp. 137f., remarks on the ideological and architectural suitability of basilical palace audience halls for Christian churches. On the private basilica, cf. H. Holzinger, "Die römische Privatbasilika," *Repertorium f. Kunstwiss.*, 5, 1882, pp. 280ff. On the literary evidence for the use of such basilicas for Christian worship, cf. F. X. Kraus, *Real-encyklopädie der christlichen Altertümer*, Freiburg i. B., 1882, I, pp. 113f.

135. E. Dyggve, "Kurzer, vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen im Palastviertel von Thessaloniki, Frühjahr 1939," in *Laureae Aquincenses*, II (Dissertationes Pannonicae, Ser. 2, no. 11), Budapest, 1941, pp. 63ff., and most recently *idem*, "La région palatiale de Thessalonique," in *Acta Congressus Maduigiani* (Proceedings of the Second International Congress of Classical Studies, Copenhagen, 1954), I, Copenhagen, 1958, pp. 353ff.

136. F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de*

*liturgie*, Paris, 1907ff., xv, 1, col. 649, s.v. "Salonique."

137. H. Torp, "Quelques remarques sur les mosaïques de l'église Saint-Georges à Thessalonique," *Congrès int. des ét. byz.*, 9th (Salonica, 1953), Athens, 1955 (Suppl. to *Hellenika*, 9), I, pp. 489ff.; cf. E. Dyggve, "Recherches sur le palais impériale de Thessalonique" in *Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen*, Copenhagen, 1953, pp. 59ff., where it is suggested that the building became a palace church under Theodosius the Great (also *idem*, *Laureae Aquincenses*, II, 1941, p. 69).

138. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

139. This was the original idea of A. Alföldi and H. von Schönebeck (*ibid.*, p. 64). Another octagonal building was recently excavated in the vicinity, and may well have belonged to the palace (C. E. Makaronas in *Praktika tes Archaïologikes Hetairias en Athenais*, 1950, pp. 303ff.); it is virtually the same size as St. George, it is oriented in exactly the same direction, and the bricks correspond.

140. M. Schneider, "Das Martyrion der hl. Euphemia beim Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel," *Byz. Zeits.*, 42, 1943-49, pp. 178ff.; *idem*, "Grabung im Bereich des Euphemia-Martyrions zu Konstantinopel," *Arch. Anz.*, 58, 1943, cols. 255ff.

141. R. Janin, *La Géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire byzantin*. Pt. I. *Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*. Vol. III. *Les Églises et les Monastères*, Paris, 1953, pp. 126ff.

There were indications, however, that the building had not been built as a church. In particular, the synthronon, in the easternmost apse, was not opposite the entrance, suggesting that it was a later installation. The building itself could be dated to the early fifth century by its masonry, and the presumption was that it was converted into the church of Saint Euphemia soon after the council of Chalcedon in 451;<sup>142</sup> but there was no real certainty as to what its original function might have been.

Subsequently the nonecclesiastical origin was confirmed by excavations that revealed a whole series of complex structures arranged symmetrically flanking the central hexagon, all opening off the sigma portico.<sup>143</sup> And the real identity of the structure is provided by a column base found *in situ* at the east corner of the western end of the sigma.<sup>144</sup> The base contains an inscription that reads ANTIOXΟΥ ΠΡΕΠΟ,<sup>145</sup> and is similar to one found in the neighborhood long before, also inscribed ANTIOXΟΥ ΠΡΕΠΟCΙΤΟΥ.<sup>146</sup>

The eunuch Antiochus, who became *praepositus* under Theodosius II (408-450) is an extraordinary though little known figure in early Byzantine history.<sup>147</sup> Born in Persia he was sent to Constantinople by King Yazdigird I and was appointed, allegedly by the will of the emperor Arcadius, a guardian of the young Theodosius. He attained the highest offices at the Byzantine court, including besides *praepositus*, *cubicularius*, praetorian prefect, patrician; in 431 he became consul. But he misused his power, amassing great wealth, and acting "like an emperor, not an emperor's minister," as one writer comments.<sup>148</sup> In 436 Theodosius dismissed him, confiscated his property, and forced him to take holy orders.<sup>149</sup>

The palace of Antiochus, from which the surrounding quarter of the city took its name (τὰ Ἀντιόχου), is known from independent sources to have been located at the northwest side of the Hippodrome.<sup>150</sup> Finally, we may note that the church of St. Euphemia is also referred to in the sources as ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιόχου.<sup>151</sup> There can be no doubt that the building, with its inscription, was Antiochus' palace. And since we know that Antiochus' downfall took place in 436, whereas he had reached the height of his career five years earlier, we can date the building with reasonable security to the period ca. 420-436.<sup>152</sup>

One of the most remarkable additional results of the later excavations at this site was the discovery of a second complex adjoining that of Antiochus-St. Euphemia (cf. Fig. 17). This again involves a great centralized structure, circular in plan with radiating apses, opening from a semicircular sigma portico. The wall-work is contemporary with that of Antiochus-St. Euphemia, and although the excavation did not make the relationship between the two complexes entirely clear, they were certainly interconnected.<sup>153</sup> Now it happens that another palace is known to have been located close to

142. Schneider, *Arch. Anz.*, 1943, cols. 273f.; cf. J. B. Ward Perkins in D. Talbot Rice, *Second Report*, pp. 68f. The occasion may have been the transferral of St. Euphemia's relics from Chalcedon, which one source says happened after the death of Marcian (457), cf. *Scriptores Orig. Const.*, ed. Preger, II, pp. 197f.

143. R. Duyuran, "First report on excavations on the site of the new Palace of Justice at Istanbul," *Annual of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul*, 5, 1952, pp. 33ff.; *idem*, "Second report . . .," *ibid.*, 6, 1954, pp. 74ff.

144. The correct identification is intimated in *ibid.*; cf. A. M. Mansel, "Rapport sur les découvertes paleochrétiennes en Turquie de 1939 à 1954," *Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Congrès int. d'archéologie chrétienne* (Aix-en-Provence 1954), Paris-Rome, 1957, p. 173.

145. Duyuran, "Second report . . .," p. 75.

146. A. Sideropoulos, "Byzantinai Epigraphai," *Hellenikos philologikos Syllogos*, vol. 19, archaeol. suppl., 1891, pp. 24ff.; cf. K. Bittel and A. M. Schneider, *Arch. Anz.*, 56, 1941, col. 296, n. 3, Duyuran, "Second report . . .," p. 75 n. 3.

147. The data on Antiochus is gathered by Sideropoulos, *op.cit.*

148. . . . πάντα συνεκῆκα δυναστεύων, οὐ παραδυναστεύων (Zonaras, *Ann.*, XIII, 22, Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, vol. 134, col. 1185).

149. Theophanes, *Chron.*, A.D. 436, Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, vol. 108, col. 252.

150. Janin, *Const. Byz.*, p. 291.

151. *Synax. Const.* in *Acta Sanctorum, Propylaeum Novem.*, Brussels, 1902, col. 813, l. 21. Zonaras, incidentally, says that Antiochus became a cleric in the church of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon (*loc.cit.*).

152. We can probably get still closer to the building's exact dates. Schneider reports (*Arch. Anz.*, 1943, col. 256) that of 300 brick-stamps collected in the church, 78 are of the 14th and 1st, 190 of the 15th indiction (a cycle of fifteen years). During the reign of Theodosius II the 15th indiction fell twice before Antiochus' downfall, in 417 and 432; since the latter is for independent reasons the more likely date, we may infer that the palace was built in the years immediately following Antiochus' appointment as consul, i.e., 431-436.

153. Cf. Ward Perkins in D. Talbot Rice, *Second Report*, p. 69.

that of Antiochus. It belonged to one Lausus, who was also a high functionary, patrician and *prae-positus*, at the time of Arcadius.<sup>154</sup> There is thus every reason to suppose that the second building was Lausus' palace.<sup>155</sup> We can hardly doubt that Antiochus and Lausus were acquainted; it is tempting to regard these adjoining palaces as evidence of a close friendship.

However that may be, the buildings permit several observations that are of interest in the present context. To begin with they document the existence in Constantinople in the mid-fifth century of the "emphasized" triclinium, and the attendant sigma-shaped portico, whose earlier phases in the late antique domestic architecture of the Latin west we sketched in the first section of this paper.<sup>156</sup> As regards the meaning of these architectural forms, it is not without irony that Antiochus should have been accused of acting more like an emperor than an emperor's minister. But at this point it is of yet greater significance that his palace triclinium (for that surely it was), was transformed into a church.

Here then we have a secure foundation for the bridge between centralized designs in the domestic and ecclesiastical spheres. On this basis it becomes reasonable to suppose that an influence took place within a broader framework than simply the physical conversion of existing palace structures into churches. Particularly from the period of Constantine onward there is evidence to suggest that churches may have been built in imitation of centralized palace triclinia. It was after Constantine, certainly, that the relationship between the imperial cult and Christianity became especially meaningful and concrete. And it seems only natural that a point of view such as Eusebius', who likens a banquet given by Constantine to a vision of the reign of Christ,<sup>157</sup> should have expressed itself in architectural terms.

It has been pointed out that a number of important centralized churches of this period are located in capitals of the empire and may have been produced under imperial patronage.<sup>158</sup> This was certainly the case with the famous octagonal church built by Constantine at Antioch. Grabar sought to relate the building to the martyrdom tradition by suggesting that it was intended as Constantine's mausoleum.<sup>159</sup> But there is no evidence that he ever contemplated being interred elsewhere than in the great tomb he had built in the church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople.<sup>160</sup> Moreover the numerous sources refer to the building at Antioch only by such generic titles as the Great Church, the Golden Church, etc.;<sup>161</sup> none mention a titular martyr. On the other hand, it can now be shown to have stood in the immediate vicinity of the palace<sup>162</sup>—a fact that enhances the possibility that its form was determined primarily by its imperial connections. Another case is that of San Lorenzo in

154. The Synaxarium (above, no. 151) speaks of Saint Euphemia as being "at Antiochus', near Lausus'" (ἐν τοῖς Ἀντιόχου, πλησίον τῶν Λαύσου). Moreover, the texts evidently locate the palace of Lausus to the left of the Mese at the Hippodrome (i.e., at the northwest side of the latter) and the palace of Antiochus at the left of Lausus'; see Janin, "Les églises Sainte-Euphémie à Constantinople," *Échos d'Orient*, xxxi, 1932, p. 275, *idem*, *Const. Byz.*, p. 352.

155. Cf. F. W. Deichmann, *Studien zur Architektur Konstantinopels im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert nach Christus* (Deutsche Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, Heft 4), Baden-Baden, 1956, p. 21 n. 42.

156. Still another building of similar design (hexagonal with projecting niches, with a sigma portico added, significantly enough) and from the same period was excavated recently near the imperial palace of the Mangana in Constantinople (R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes*, Paris, 1939, pp. 81ff., pls. I and XII). The identification of the building, however, is open to question. Demangel and Mamboury regard it as an "agiasma" (miraculous water source) which allegedly existed at the monastery of the Hodegetria, where a church had been founded by Pulcheria, the sister of Theodosius II. Schneider (*Byzanz, Vorarbeiten zur Topographie und Archäologie der Stadt* [Istanbuler

Forschungen, 8], Berlin, 1936, p. 90, and *Byz. Zeits.*, 1943-49, p. 180 n. 1) considers it a bath or nymphaeum.

157. *Vita Const.*, III, 15, Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, vol. 20, cols. 1072f.; in the Triclinos of the Nineteen Couches, supposedly built by Constantine, the number of guests at the emperor's table, at least at the period of Constantine VII, was always twelve (Ebersolt, *op.cit.*, p. 59).

158. Krautheimer, *ART BULLETIN*, 1953, pp. 60 and 154.

159. *Martyrium*, I, pp. 214ff.

160. Eusebius, *Vita Const.*, IV, LX, Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, vol. 20, cols. 1209f. For an equally skeptical reaction to Grabar's theory, see Krautheimer, *ART BULLETIN*, 1953, p. 60.

161. Theophanes, *Chron.*, A.D. 319 (Migne, *Patr. Gr.*, vol. 108, col. 116) refers to it as τὸ ὀκτάγωνον κυριακόν; Grabar, *Martyrium*, I, p. 222, concludes that the building was dedicated to Christ, though the phrase could equally, if not preferably, mean the "royal" or "imperial" octagon.

162. As emerges from the topographical border of the Yakto mosaic at Antioch; J. Lassus in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, I (ed. G. W. Elderkin), Princeton, 1934, pp. 144f.; W. Eltester, "Die Kirchen Antiochias im IV. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, 36, 1937, pp. 251ff.; Grabar, *Martyrium*, I, pp. 214ff.

Milan, tetrafoil in plan, ascribed now to the fourth century.<sup>163</sup> Here again, as at Salonica, there is no record of an early dedication (that to St. Lawrence does not appear until the sixth century). And the fact that investigation produced no trace of a reliquary or tomb scarcely supports the assumption that it was founded as a martyrium.<sup>164</sup> But San Lorenzo may well have been an imperial foundation, and according to the most recent study it too may have been located near the imperial palace.<sup>165</sup>

It should be emphasized, however, that the connection between centralized churches and the palace tradition was not necessarily dependent upon direct imperial sponsorship. On the contrary, our experience with the triconch makes it clear that similar "associative" processes operated on less exalted levels. Nor did derivation from the palace tradition preclude a dedication to martyrs. Both these points are illustrated by the cathedral at Bosra, the interior of which, like San Lorenzo, is tetrafoil in plan.<sup>166</sup> An inscription, which includes the date A.D. 512, shows that it was dedicated to SS. Sergius, Bacchus, and Leontius.<sup>167</sup> But it is closely related to the structure we discussed earlier (Fig. 11), presumably the episcopal palace.<sup>168</sup> And it has been suggested that this relationship may have been a determining factor in the design of the church.<sup>169</sup> The situation at Bosra is particularly interesting since the inclusion of the triconch in the palace demonstrates *eo ipso* that the architect was profoundly influenced by the whole tradition of "emphasized triclinia."

Thus we can point not only to centralized palace buildings that were converted into churches, but also to centralized churches, built as such, for which the palace tradition appears to have served as precedent. We are, I believe, justified in the hypothesis that the palace tradition should be numbered among the sources for central plans in the Christian architectural repertory. Needless to say, it was by no means the only source. Indeed an important, if inconvenient, conclusion to be drawn from these considerations is that a single origin cannot be assumed even for quite similar forms. Rather we should think in terms of a variety of possible forerunners; and in determining which of the possibilities is appropriate in a specific case, we must reckon with the fact that different functions and associations may overlap.<sup>170</sup>

In view of the relatively early adoption of the centralized triclinium plan for some Christian churches, it would be reasonable to suppose that the transferral must have been made at least as readily in the specific case of the palace chapel.<sup>171</sup> Yet clear evidence for the development of the centralized palace chapel is wanting from the Early Christian period. Constantine's octagonal church at Antioch was actually the cathedral of the city;<sup>172</sup> and while its physical proximity to the

163. Calderini, etc., *op.cit.* For the arguments that follow, cf. Krautheimer, ART BULLETIN, 1953, p. 154.

164. Grabar, *Martyrium*, I, p. 408.

165. Calderini, etc., *op.cit.*, p. 249.

166. J. W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Bosra and Samaria-Sebaste* (British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Supplementary Paper, 4), London, 1937, pp. 1ff.

167. The inscription also mentions the archbishop under whom it was built (*P.U.A.E.S.*, Div. III, Sect. A, no. 557, p. 246, *Corp. Inscr. Gr.*, 4, 8625); that it was the cathedral is indicated by its size—the largest church in the city.

168. The relationship may be seen in *P.U.A.E.S.*, Div. II, Sect. A, map after p. 295.

169. Bandmann, *op.cit.*, p. 184.

170. For example, Krautheimer has clearly demonstrated that the usual reference to Roman baths does not suffice to explain the Christian tradition of centrally planned baptisteries; mausolea must be taken into account, ideologically as well as formally ("Introduction to an Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5, 1942, pp. 20ff.). Our earlier discussion of the domestic triconch suggests another point at which precisely this kind of overlapping may be involved. Among the earliest and most common Christian architectural

monuments are the *cellae trichorae* found in the cemeteries of Rome and throughout the early Christian world (cf. Cabrol, *op.cit.*, II, 2, cols. 2894ff.; *Reallex. f. Ant. u. Chr.*, II, cols. 944ff.). For the most part they are doubtless sepulchral monuments, *memoriae*; in many cases they are known to have contained relics and hence constitute martyria in the strictest sense (Grabar, *Martyrium*, I, pp. 102ff.). Moreover, there exist pagan tombs with the triapsidal form from which the Christian tradition very probably derived (*ibid.*, pp. 113ff.). But it is possible that in the beginning at least, the *cellae trichorae* also served to contain the *agape*, or funerary banquet celebrated by the early Christians in honor of the deceased. As is well known, the *agape* in turn was adapted from pagan custom, and in fact the *triclinium funebre* is an established category in both pagan (*RE*, VII A 1, col. 100) and Christian architecture (Cabrol, *op.cit.*, I, 1, cols. 808ff.). Thus, it seems possible that the type was used for funerary purposes because of its association with the domestic triclinium.

171. On palace chapels cf. Dehio and von Bezold, *op.cit.*, pp. 155 and 459f.; Cabrol, *op.cit.*, III, 1, cols. 406ff., s.v. "Chapelle"; Grabar, *Martyrium*, I, pp. 559ff.; Bandmann, *op.cit.*, pp. 200ff.

172. J. Lassus, *Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie*, Paris, 1947, p. 109; Krautheimer, ART BULLETIN, 1953, p. 60.

palace certainly suggests an ideological relationship, it can hardly be regarded as a palace church proper. On the other hand, a number of churches in the Great Palace of Constantinople are ascribed to Constantine, one of them with the suggestive dedication of Christ *κύριος*; but there is no reason to believe that any of them were centrally planned.<sup>173</sup>

From a later period, there is the famous cruciform chapel built by Peter II (494-518) in the archiepiscopal palace at Ravenna; but it is little more than a small chamber in the palace apartments, and is not likely to have played an important role in the monumental tradition that ultimately developed.<sup>174</sup> Nor can we assume that the chapels the Merovingian kings were wont to include in their palaces provided such a prototype.<sup>175</sup> It has been supposed that San Vitale at Ravenna was the palace church of the exarchate,<sup>176</sup> though it cannot have been intended as such since it was founded (526) long before the Byzantine conquest (540). Even Hagia Sophia at Constantinople, in view of its proximity to the palace and the imperial functions that took place in it, has been regarded as a palace church,<sup>177</sup> whereas it was in fact the seat of the patriarch.

Thus we have no evidence for an immediate and direct translation of the centralized palace triclinium into the centralized palace church. Of course it would be rash to conclude that no centralized palace chapels existed during this period, but certainly the familiar type of the later Middle Ages had not yet emerged. Ironically, it is possible that the form's secular association with the palace tradition might, in the beginning, have prevented its use for the palace chapel itself.<sup>178</sup> And in fact it seems there was an intermediate step, in which the palace triclinium acquired the characteristics of a church, while yet retaining its proper identity.

This crucial transitional role was performed by one of the most renowned of all centralized palace structures, the Chrysotriclinos ("Golden triclinium") built by Justin II (565-578) in the Great Palace at Constantinople. It was octagonal in plan, with niches opening from the sides. With its subsidiary monuments it largely replaced Constantine's Daphne palace as the functional center of the imperial residence, overshadowing all else by its size and the splendor of its decorations.<sup>179</sup> It was the great ceremonial reception hall for the most important state occasions. Here the emperor, surrounded by the court dignitaries, greeted foreign ambassadors, distributed offices and honors, and was himself adulated, all in accordance with an intricate ritual. Some of the ceremonies indeed were explicitly religious in character. On Palm Sundays the emperor distributed crosses;<sup>180</sup> on the Thursday after Easter he received the Kiss of Peace from the members of the court and ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>181</sup>

The decorations, first carried out under Tiberius II (578-582) and restored by Michael III (842-867), are particularly interesting in this latter respect. In the vault of the eastern apse, the "bema" as it is called in the sources, above the throne of the emperor, was an image of Christ enthroned. Over the entrance was a representation of the Virgin, while round about were depicted the apostles, martyrs, bishops, and the emperor Michael himself.<sup>182</sup> Thus, the decoration was not merely

173. St. Stephen and a church of the Apostles are, with the *Kύριος*, the most important in the palace attributed to Constantine; Janin, *La Géographie* . . . , I, III, pp. 55, 489f., and 525f.

174. G. Gerola, "Il ripristino della Capella di S. Andrea nel palazzo vescovile di Ravenna," *Felix Ravenna*, n.s., III, 1932, pp. 71ff.

175. Cabrol, *op.cit.*, III, 1, cols. 408ff.

176. E. Baldwin Smith, *op.cit.*, p. 96, n. 66. The extraordinary theory, recently revived, that San Vitale was built by Theodoric as a reception hall, has been thoroughly demolished by K. Wessel (cited above, n. 66).

177. Bandmann, *op.cit.*, p. 184.

178. It is interesting to note that in one case where what seems to have been a palace chapel is preserved, adjacent to

the palace with the triconch at Kasr ibn Wardan, an entirely different kind of plan is used (cf. *P.U.A.E.S.*, Div. II, Sect. B, map opp. p. 26, pp. 29ff.).

179. On the Chrysotriclinos, cf. Ebersolt, *op.cit.*, pp. 77ff. Liutprand of Cremona, ambassador to Constantinople in the tenth century calls it the *praestantior pars* of the palace (*Antapodosis*, v, 21, Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores, III, Hannover, 1839, p. 333).

180. Const. Porph., I, 41 (32), *ed.cit.*, I, text, pp. 160ff.

181. *Ibid.*, I, 23 (14), pp. 84ff.

182. *Anthologia graeca epigrammatum palatina cum planudea*, ed. H. Stadtmueller, I, Leipzig, 1894, no. 106, pp. 28f.; Ebersolt, *op.cit.*, p. 82, probably misreads the last line of the text in assuming the presence of the archangel Michael.

religious; its program actually embodies essential features of an important phase in the development of the Byzantine system for the decoration of churches.<sup>183</sup>

Unfortunately we are without sure footing on a number of chronological points. The original decorations of the Chrysotriclinos were destroyed in the iconoclastic controversy; but it is reasonable to assume that they were reflected in the replacements of Michael III.<sup>184</sup> Likewise, our knowledge of the ceremonies performed in the building is due to a later source, Constantine Porphyrogenitus (913-920); but his work is largely a compilation of earlier texts, and the traditions were doubtless maintained. Despite all such uncertainties, the Chrysotriclinos provides a richly documented instance of the formal as well as symbolic *rapprochement* of the palace triclinium to the Christian church.

That this development should have taken place in the years following the reign of Justinian the Great was by no means accidental. For then was inaugurated an era of spiritual intensification that lasted until the reactionary explosion of Iconoclasm.<sup>185</sup> The period witnessed a vast increase in the importance of the cult of images, and, what is particularly important here, a new emphasis upon the concept of the emperor as the priestly *Servus Christi*. In fact, it was in the Chrysotriclinos perhaps for the first time, that the emperor's role as Christ's vicar was given an appropriate decorative setting, still within an essentially secular context. We have, in effect, a reversal of the process underlying the relationship discussed earlier between palace triclinia and early Christian churches generally. There we were dealing with an adoption of pagan tradition for Christian purposes, hence with an aspect of the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages. Here, on the contrary, we have a peculiarly mediaeval phenomenon, permeation of the secular tradition with Christian religious meaning.<sup>186</sup>

But the significance of the Chrysotriclinos reaches far beyond the period in which it was created. It was of critical importance for future religious art not only in Byzantium but also, as seems likely, in the west.

It is a remarkable fact that the western tradition of centrally planned palace chapels begins with no less than three examples dating from the latter part of the eighth and the early ninth century: the church at Benevento built by the Lombard ruler Arechis II around 765;<sup>187</sup> the chapel at Germigny-des-Prés built for his summer palace by Theodulf, bishop of Orleans (798-818) and councillor of Charlemagne, dedicated in 806;<sup>188</sup> and Charlemagne's own chapel in the palace at Aachen, dedicated by Leo III in 805.<sup>189</sup> The chapel of Charlemagne's palace at Nymwegen may also be added if the replacement (interior octagonal, exterior with sixteen sides, as at Aachen), probably of the tenth century, reflects the original building.<sup>190</sup> And Grabar has made a strong case for considering the round church with projecting apses (late ninth - early tenth century) at Preslav, the early capital of the Bulgars, to be a palace church.<sup>191</sup> Grabar regarded this group (excepting Germigny-des-Prés) as stemming from a famous church in the Great Palace at Constantinople, the Virgin of the Pharos, which he conceived to be round or polygonal in plan.<sup>192</sup> But this building has since been

183. Profound analogies have been pointed out between the decorations of the Chrysotriclinos, those of Hagia Sophia, and those of the church described in the tenth homily of Photius (see below, n. 193), all conceived and mostly carried out under Michael III just after the middle of the ninth century; cf. S. Der Nersessian, "Le décor des églises du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Actes du VI<sup>e</sup> Congrès intern. d'études byzantines* (Paris, 1948), II, Paris, 1951, pp. 315ff.

184. We do know that the image of Christ replaced an earlier one (Ebersolt, *op.cit.*, p. 81); moreover, Der Nersessian very cogently suggests that the system adopted in the ninth century decorations of the group of buildings mentioned in the preceding note was taken from the originals of the late sixth century (*op.cit.*, p. 320).

185. See, above all, E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in

the Age before Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, VIII, 1954, pp. 83ff.

186. Compare G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford, 1956, p. 78, where the forces at work during this period are viewed as introducing the mediaeval history of Byzantium (cited by Kitzinger, *op.cit.*, p. 127 n. 197).

187. J. Hubert, *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France*, 1934, pp. 95ff., ill. p. 98.

188. *Idem*, "Germigny-des-Prés," *Congrès archéologique de France* (Orléans, 1930), vol. 93, 1930, pp. 534ff.

189. K. Faymonville in *Kunstdenkm. d. Rheinprov.* (ed. P. Clemen), vol. x, pt. 1, Düsseldorf, 1916, p. 60.

190. E. Lehmann, *op.cit.*, p. 132; Fichtenau, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

191. *Martyrium*, I, pp. 567ff.

192. *Ibid.*, pp. 565ff.

shown to have been rebuilt a century later (864) than had been assumed, and to have had at that time at least, quite a different, unrelated plan.<sup>193</sup>

Nevertheless, Grabar was perhaps right in connecting the group of the Carolingian period with a Byzantine tradition. It may be difficult to conceive how a Lombard church could reflect a Byzantine type; yet the chapel at Benevento is dedicated to the Holy Wisdom, a strictly Byzantine appellation.<sup>194</sup> It is difficult to see how Germigny-des-Prés even belongs to the group, since, while basically centralized, it is not round or polygonal; yet an early source specifically says that it was built in imitation of the chapel at Aachen.<sup>195</sup> And in point of fact it has recently been argued, independently of our problem, that the Chrysotriclinos was the ultimate source for the chapel at Aachen.<sup>196</sup> For the two buildings had essential elements in common, besides their octagonal plans: the emperor's throne was present in each, as was the image of the enthroned Christ, and, probably, a great chandelier; moreover, in both cases there was an additional emphasis upon the Virgin (the mosaic over the entrance at Constantinople; Aachen was dedicated jointly to the Virgin and the Savior).

The hypothesis has its difficulties since there are also many differences between the two buildings, and since we cannot be absolutely certain that Michael III's decorations of the Chrysotriclinos represented a tradition that Charlemagne's artists might have known. But several general considerations make the theory attractive. We have already seen that the Carolingian use of the triconch establishes a connection with the tradition of "emphasized" triclinia, to which the central plan of the Chrysotriclinos itself belongs. Another striking fact is that our investigation has not produced a single centralized palace church prior to the Carolingian examples that might have inspired them.

On the other hand, we need only recall the classic derivation of the Aachen chapel architecturally from San Vitale to realize that, as with the triconch, we are probably confronted with a combination of "ancient" and contemporary Byzantine sources.<sup>197</sup> On this basis the Carolingian artists seem to have ventured further than any of their predecessors, eastern or western. For judging from the available evidence, they were the first actually to build the palace chapel after the fashion of the centralized palace triclinium. In the Chrysotriclinos the decoration was religious but the building itself remained secular. Now the building too was given a religious function. And thereby was established an entirely new tradition.<sup>198</sup>

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193. See R. J. H. Jenkins and C. A. Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, ix-x, 1956, pp. 125ff. (summarized in C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople*, Cambridge, Mass., 1958, pp. 177ff.), where it is demonstrated that this homily, long considered a description of the Nea of Basil I, in fact pertains to the Virgin of the Pharos, and that Michael III "rebuilt" the latter building, dedicating it in 864 (Ebersolt, *op.cit.*, p. 104, and many following him, erroneously ascribed it to Constantine V, before 768). Subsequently, Grabar attributed Photius' description to another church dedicated to the Virgin, and ascribed to Michael III (*L'Iconoclasmé*, p. 184).

194. One of the ninth century sources (Erchempert) says specifically that Arichis. . . *templum. . . condidit quod Greco vocabulo Agiam Sophiam, id est sanctam Sapientiam, nominavit*; cf. Hubert, *Bull. soc. ant. Fr.*, p. 97 n. 3.

195. . . . *instar videlicet eius quae Aquis est constituta* . . . (*Miracula S. Maximi*, cf. Schlosser, *Schriftquellen*, no. 682, p. 218).

196. Fichtenau, *op.cit.*, pp. 1ff., "Pfalzkapelle und Chrysotriklinos."

197. For correlative evidence of the influence of recent Byzantine, alongside revived ancient sources on Carolingian art, see the bibliography quoted by Kitzinger, "Byzantine Art in the Period between Justinian and Iconoclasm," *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress*, Munich, 1958, iv, 1, p. 8 n. 27.

198. After completing the manuscript the writer was delighted to find his arguments almost exactly paralleled in a recent monograph by J. Fleckenstein dealing with the court chapel from the point of view of institutional rather than architectural history. One of Fleckenstein's basic conclusions is that, while combining elements from a variety of sources, the court chapel as an institution was essentially a Carolingian creation (*Die Hofkapelle der deutschen Könige* [Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae historica, xvi, 1], Stuttgart, 1959, ch. 1, esp. p. 43, and *passim*).

This study was carried out under ideal circumstances, while I was a Fellow at Dumbarton Oaks. To that institution and its staff I acknowledge an abiding sense of gratitude and indebtedness. Professor Ernst Kitzinger sacrificed many hours reading the manuscript in several versions, discussing various problems, and offering numerous suggestions. Professor Richard Krautheimer, whose insights were the point of departure for Section II, generously discussed the material with me on more than one occasion. Professor Paul Underwood was particularly helpful in calling my attention to the Antiochus-St. Euphemia complex discussed in Section II, and in going over the monument with me *in situ*. The work also profited from the expert advice of Dr. Cyril Mango, and Dr. Hans Lieb of Basel. The financial burden of typescript and photographs was removed by grants from the research funds of Vassar College. The plans labeled as being "after" a source were very kindly redrawn by Miss Susan Clifford of Vassar.



## APPENDIX

LATE ROMAN RESIDENTIAL  
TRICONCHES OF GAUL, SPAIN,  
AND NORTH AFRICA

The major problem that arises in connection with these provincial monuments is that of their chronology; none can be dated securely on archaeological grounds.<sup>199</sup> Sometimes, however, a definite if broad framework is provided by the general history of the province. Thus, Gaul was prosperous through the first half of the third century, but thereafter suffered a recession, combined with ravaging barbarian invasions that would have made large scale private building very hazardous.<sup>200</sup> Subsequently a pronounced recovery took place, especially under Diocletian and Constantine; destroyed buildings were restored and new ones undertaken. But again thereafter, until the final catastrophes of the early fifth century the decline was in progress. Thus, we might expect to find the more elaborate architectural forms, such as the triconch, during the latter part of the third and the first part of the fourth centuries. Naturally one cannot presume to date an individual monument on this basis, but the great mass of archaeological evidence is in harmony with it.<sup>201</sup>

199. Altogether, the difficulties in dealing with this material are considerable. Many of the monuments were discovered before scientific archaeological methods were developed; reports, in widely scattered local journals, are usually very scant and imprecise. Although general conclusions are possible, specific points based upon such evidence must be regarded as tentative.

200. A. Grenier, *Archéologie gallo-romaine*, I, Paris, 1931, pp. 101f.

201. A typical pattern throughout Gaul is that of magnificent villas built or reaching an extensive stage of development around the latter part of the second or early in the third century; the remains of this period often show evidence of violent destruction; a more or less elaborate restoration follows in the early fourth century; then complete devastation in the fifth century. See the study of the villas in the region of Metz by A. Grenier, *Habitations gauloises*. . . , esp. pp. 116ff. and 179ff. Cf. for example, such widely separated villas as those at Mayen in the Rheinland (F. Oelmann, "Ein gallorömischer Bauernhof bei Mayen," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, vol. 133, 1928, pp. 51ff.) and Chiragan in southwest France (L. Joulin, "Les établissements gallo-romains de la plaine de Martres-Tolosanes," *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Mémoires présentés par divers savants*, ser. 1, XI, 1901, pp. 219ff.) summarized by Grenier, *Archéologie gallo-romaine*, II, pp. 784ff. and 832ff.; also in the latter region (Haute-Garonne), a villa at Montmaurin where the middle level, apparently dated by a coin of Gallienus (253-268) is separated by a layer of ashes from the Constantinian cement above, which in turn is surmounted by the ashes of the final destruction (G. Fouet, "La villa romaine de Montmaurin," *Bulletin archéologique*, 1953, pp. 268ff.; M. Labrousse, *Gallia*, XII, 1954, p. 217, XIII, 1955, pp. 205ff.). A villa at Cadeilhan-Saint-Clar, in nearby Gers, showed two states, the first of which may have been destroyed in the third century invasions, while the second included mosaics attributed by the excavators to the late third-early fourth century (M. Larrieu, Y. Le Moal, M. Labrousse, "La villa gallo-romaine de la Tasque à Cadeilhan-Saint-Clar," *Gallia*, XI, 1953, pp. 41ff., esp. pp. 65ff., 67, n. 67). Still in southwest France, at Montcaret (Dordogne), part of a villa was excavated (containing a cruciform chamber with one flat and two semicircular arms, see above, n. 75) in

This sequence helps to support independent evidence for dating two Gallic villas that contain triconches. One was found in the southwest corner of France, in Aquitaine, at Saint-Cricq-Villeneuve near Dax (Landes, Fig. 23).<sup>202</sup> It is one of several luxurious villas in this region, which are closely related because of the stylistic similarities of their mosaic pavements.<sup>203</sup> Since on the whole the buildings of this group are not markedly stratified, everything seems to point to their being the product of a single school, perhaps of a single atelier. Fortunately, one of them has a fixed *terminus post quem* in the reign of Volusian (251-253).<sup>204</sup> Thus, one suspects that the whole group may have been carried out sometime after the incursion of the Franks in the time of Gallienus (253-268),<sup>205</sup> who must have passed this way since they reached Spain. This is in accord with the style of the pavements, which, on the other hand, cannot be placed much beyond the early fourth century. Another triconch occurs in northeast France at Blanzzy-lès-Fismes, near Soissons (Aisne, Fig. 26).<sup>206</sup> The apses here had mosaic pavements with abstract designs, while the central rectangle had elaborate representations of Orpheus and Arion. In

which three phases were discerned; the destruction of the second, an enlargement of the first, was attributed to the invasions, while mosaic pavements added later were clearly of the fourth century (P. Grimal, *Gallia*, IX, 1951, pp. 114ff.; H. Stern, "La Mosaïque d'Orphée de Blanzzy-lès-Fismes," *ibid.*, XIII, 1955, p. 62; cf. J. Formigé, "Fouilles de Montcaret," *Congrès archéologique de France*, CII, 1939, pp. 182ff., esp. pp. 194f.).

On the other hand, H. Mattingly in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge, XII, 1939, p. 314, warns against the indiscriminate attribution of coin hoards (which are important evidence on the subject) to fear of invaders; numerous hoards are found in Britain, where the same factors were not in operation. Indeed, a villa recently excavated at Lullingstone shows a similar pattern of superimposition as the Gallic examples, though in this case the building seems to have been deserted during the first half of the third century, when the Gallic villas were being enlarged (G. W. Meates, *Lullingstone Roman Villa*, London, 1955).

202. E. Dufourcet, E. Taillebois, G. Camiade, *L'Aquitaine historique et monumentale*, Dax, 1890ff., I, pp. 323ff., cf. *Inventaire des mosaïques*, I (Gaule), G. Lafaye and A. Blanchet, no. 435, p. 99 (hereinafter *Inv. Gaule*).

203. Cf. Dufourcet, etc., *op.cit.*, pp. 254f.; L. Sentex, "Les mosaïques gallo-romaines de Glézyia," *Société de Borda à Dax, Bulletin scientifique*, XVI, 1891, pp. 7ff. The group also includes two bathing establishments that contain triconches, one at Jurançon (Basses-Pyrénées; cf. C. Lecoœur, "Notice sur les mosaïques de Jurançon," *Bulletin du Comité de la langue, de l'histoire et des arts de la France*, II, 1853-1855, pp. 377ff., *Inv. Gaule*, no. 409, p. 93), the other at Sarbazan (Landes; Dufourcet, etc., *op.cit.*, pp. 251ff., *Inv. Gaule*, no. 440, p. 100).

204. From a medallion of Volusian found under one of the pavements at Glézyia, Saint-Sever; cf. Sentex, *op.cit.*, XV, 1890, p. 236, XVI, 1891, pp. 6f., *Inv. Gaule*, no. 429, pp. 97f.

205. On the incursion cf. *RE*, VII, cols. 83f.; for the coin hoards of this region see A. Blanchet, *Les trésors de monnaies romaines et les invasions germaniques en Gaule*, Paris, 1900, p. 251f.

206. See now the full discussion by Stern, *Gallia*, 1955, pp. 41ff.



this case the style of the pavements indicates a date in the early fourth century, so that it too probably belongs to the "recovery" phase.<sup>207</sup>

It is quite clear, therefore, that our motif reached Gaul by the end of the third century, but that it ever really took root there seems doubtful. In fact the evidence suggests that the preserved instances represent direct influences from elsewhere. The mosaic pavements of the building at Blanzly-lès-Fismes have been recognized as being abnormal for Gaul, and it has been suggested that they were the work of an itinerant workshop from Italy, or even from North Africa.<sup>208</sup> Likewise the mosaics decorating the examples from southwest France form part of a distinct group.<sup>209</sup> Here too North Africa may have been the source, or it seems possible that in this case we should look to Spain as intermediary. Two villas with triconch triclinia have been preserved in Spain, one at Alemauras de Adaja (Valladolid) in the north (Fig. 20),<sup>210</sup> another near Eciija in the southern province of Baetica (Fig. 21).<sup>211</sup> There is no evidence to suggest a date for either of these examples, except of course that they must precede the conquest of Spain by the Vandals in A.D. 409.

Africa Proconsularis was easily the leader in domestic triconch production, and may well have had an important part in disseminating the motif.<sup>212</sup> Here unfortunately the general historical background is of little help in establishing a chronology. On the whole, economic conditions in North Africa were far more stable than in most other parts of the empire. And while uprisings of the indigenous populations were fairly frequent, there were no major invasions until the final conquest by the Vandals in 429-430.

Perhaps the earliest of the North African series is a villa at Dougga (ancient Thugga) in north central Tunisia; it is the largest private dwelling so far excavated at the site (Fig. 22).<sup>213</sup> Its rich series of

mosaic pavements, including those found in an adjoining bath, suggest a date late in the second or early in the third century.<sup>214</sup> The compact plan, which recalls that of the villa at Oudna (see above, n. 35), also points to a relatively early date for the original building. The triconch was entered from the main *oecus*, which in turn opened off the central rectangular court. Thus relegated to a minor location in a corner of the villa, it contrasts with the emphasis placed on the triconch in most later examples. But there is also the possibility that it may have been built into an originally rectangular room.<sup>215</sup>

Three other examples in Tunisia are probably to be dated fairly close together. A building with a triconch was excavated recently at Carthage (Fig. 18, cf. Fig. 4).<sup>216</sup> Here, a careful study of the mosaic pavements found in the trifolium and several other rooms indicated a date in the early fourth century for the period in the building's history to which the triconch belongs.<sup>217</sup> As we noted earlier, there is some indication that the building may have been the palace of the provincial governor.<sup>218</sup>

A second villa with trifolium was found at Thuburbo Majus not far south of Carthage (Fig. 24).<sup>219</sup> Here, the lateral apses contained basins which may have held water, though the villa's bathing establishment was some distance removed. In this case the mosaic pavements suggested a date at the turn of the fourth century, in the period of the Tetrarchy.<sup>220</sup> Still another example occurs in the so-called *Maison du Char de Vénus* also at Thuburbo (Fig. 25).<sup>221</sup> In this case the triconch and a major *oecus* of the villa seem to have been combined into one large room opening directly off the central peristyle. The mosaic pavements, which include a hunting scene in the portico facing the *oecus*, have also been ascribed to the late third century;<sup>222</sup> although the pavements throughout

207. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

208. *Ibid.*, pp. 49, 53ff., and *Recueil général des mosaïques de la Gaule* (Gallia, Suppl. x), 1, Paris, 1957, p. 19.

209. Cf. n. 203 above. They show a luxuriant colorism, even in the geometric designs, that contrasts markedly with the severe abstraction of Gallic tradition as a whole; and the representations of marine life at Saint-Cricq-Villeneuve (ill. in Dufourcet, etc., *op.cit.*), in the bathing establishment at Sarbazan (with a triconch; ill. in *ibid.*), and at Jurançon (Lecœur, *op.cit.*, pls. III and IV), have their closest parallels in North Africa.

210. A. García y Bellido in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 52, 1948, p. 261, fig. 22.

211. J. Hernández Díaz, A. Sancho Corbacho, F. Collantes de Teran, *Catálogo arqueológico y artístico de la Provincia de Sevilla*, III, Seville, 1951, pp. 81f., fig. 28, p. 83 (= *Archivo español de arqueología*, XXV, 1952, fig. 2, p. 394).

212. I should like at this point to acknowledge my indebtedness to M. C. Poinssot of the Mission archéologique française in Tunisia. With extraordinary kindness and generosity M. Poinssot took great pains to furnish the writer information and materials, in large part unpublished.

213. See above p. 6; *Inv. Tun.*, no. 559, pp. 184f., Supplément (A. Merlin), nos. 559-560, pp. 60ff. The building is visible in the plan of the site in L. Carton, *Thugga*, Tunis, 1929; cf. C. Poinssot, *Ruines de Dougga*, no. 18, pp. 54ff., and plan. An inaccurate plan of the triconch alone is given

in L. Carton, *Découvertes épigraphiques et archéologiques faites en Tunisie*, Lille, 1895 (Société des sciences, de l'agriculture, et des arts de Lille, Mémoires, 5th ser., fasc. IV) fig. 50, p. 171. Our Fig. 22 is from a rough sketch, kindly supplied by Poinssot.

214. Merlin, *loc.cit.*, had placed it in the first or second century. C. Poinssot, *loc.cit.*, is certainly correct in assigning a later date.

215. C. Poinssot, in *litteris*, who points out that the mosaics found in the floor above the trifolium are clearly later in style than those on the ground floor (cf. Merlin, *loc.cit.*).

216. G.-Ch. Picard, *Karthago*, 1951-1952, pp. 167ff.

217. *Ibid.*, pp. 177ff.

218. Above, p. 6.

219. L. Poinssot and P. Quoniam, "Mosaïques des bains des protomés à Thuburbo-Majus," *Karthago*, IV, 1953, pp. 153ff.

220. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

221. So far as I know, no plan has been published; that reproduced here is from a sketch by C. Poinssot. The building is mentioned and its hunting mosaic discussed by L. Poinssot, "Plusieurs inscriptions de Thuburbo Maius," *Revue Tunisienne*, 42, 1940, pp. 218ff. (a publication that does not seem to have reached this country, but of which a microfilm, again supplied by C. Poinssot, is in the Dumbarton Oaks Library).

222. *Ibid.*, pp. 226f.

the building seem to have been produced by a single workshop,<sup>223</sup> the possibility has been suggested that the triconch may be an addition.<sup>224</sup> On the whole, therefore, the late third or early fourth century appears to be the most likely period for this group of triconches.

At least a century later, at the end of the fourth or early in the fifth century, is the triconch at Tabarka, on the coast west of Carthage.<sup>225</sup> This is one of the best known of all the North African villas, from the mosaic pavements representing rural scenes that decorated the three apses. So far as I have been able to discover, however, no plan of the building was ever published. Again, the approximate date is suggested by the mosaics, which in this case can be related to a monument datable in the early years of the fifth century.<sup>226</sup> This is the latest of the North African secular triconches for which we have any evidence at all of a date.

Two other certainly domestic examples are re-

corded. At El-Alia in southeast Tunisia a remarkable villa was excavated which contained two, perhaps three stories (Fig. 19).<sup>227</sup> The walls and vaults were decorated with paintings and mosaics, some with glass tesserae, and the floors were paved with mosaics. Part of the second story was outfitted as a bath, while underneath on the ground floor there was a large triconch. Finally, at Tebessa a house was recently discovered that contained a trifolium, thought to have been the triclinium, with a mosaic pavement decoration of animals and foliage.<sup>228</sup> In neither of these cases, unfortunately, does the available information provide a reasonable clue as to date.

Several other examples may well belong in the domestic category.<sup>229</sup> But the triconch was also extremely popular in the Christian architecture of North Africa,<sup>230</sup> and it is often impossible to determine whether a particular example was secular or religious in character.<sup>231</sup>

223. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

224. C. Poinssot, *in litteris*, where also a late third or early fourth century date for the mosaics is suggested.

225. *Inv. Tun.*, no. 940, pp. 303f.

226. The acanthus rinceaux framing the rural scenes is remarkably close to that found in the basilica of Cresconius at Djemila in Algeria, which can be dated by its dedicatory inscription A.D. 412-420. I am indebted to Professor Kitzinger for this observation, which can be supported on more general stylistic evidence.

227. D. Novak, *Fouilles d'une villa romaine* (Publiée sous les auspices de l'Association historique pour l'étude de l'Afrique du Nord), Paris, 1901; C. Poinssot brought this building to my attention and provided a microfilm (on deposit in the Dumbarton Oaks Library) of the rare publication by Novak.

228. L. Leschi, *Études d'épigraphie, d'archéologie et d'histoire africaines*, Paris, 1957, p. 116.

229. E.g., a trifolium found at Carthage (very near that

referred to in the text above), located a few meters from a house in which several statues were discovered; the central apse had a mosaic pavement with birds facing each other in rinceaux of acanthus (*Inv. Tun.*, no. 675, pp. 227f.).

A large triconch located near the great basilica at Hippo Regius, has been regarded as a chapel by the excavator (E. Marec, *Monuments chrétiens d'Hippone*, pp. 167f. and 231f.); but it does not communicate with the church, and opens off a peristyle in a manner very like the many domestic examples we have seen. (Cf. J. Lassus, "L'Archéologie algérienne en 1955," *Libyca, Arch.-Epig.*, IV, 1956, p. 183, an article called to my attention by C. Poinssot.)

230. The Tunisian examples have been collected by P. G. Lapeyre, "La basilique chrétienne de Tunisie," *Atti del IV Congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana*, I, pp. 183ff.

231. The triconch of the villa at Dougga, for example, was regarded as a church before the building was excavated (cf. Carton, *Découvertes . . .*, pp. 171f.).